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Third Arms Inspection in Belgium Concludes

LD2601235290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1428 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Brussels, 26 Jan—TASS correspondent Sergey Simonenko reports:

An inspection by the Soviet side of the fulfillment of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on the elimination of medium and shorter range missiles is over.

A group of inspectors which included representatives of the USSR Defense and Foreign Affairs Ministries, as well as specialists in the industrial field, visited the European center of repairs and maintenance of cruise missiles in the settlement of Gosselies, near Charleroi. According to statements by the Belgian National Defense Ministry, a certain number of cruise missiles without warheads only is left in the center in Gosselies; which, according to conditions of the treaty, will function until the completion of the withdrawal of all the U.S. missiles from Europe.

Before the TASS correspondent left, A.V. Kuznetsov, head of the group of Soviet inspectors, told him this is already the third inspection at this facility since the signing of the agreement. We are fully satisfied with the results of the check, he stressed. According to the protocol, the time of the inspection is limited to 24 hours, but we needed even less time. The representatives of the U.S. and Belgian sides, who received us, did everything to enable us to successfully accomplish our mission.

Grammatchikov Discusses CSSR Troop Withdrawal

LD2601181590 Moscow International Service in Slovak 1600 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Georgiy Grammatchikov Commentary]

[Text] I recently heard about a meeting outside the Soviet Embassy in Prague. Its participants demanded the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechosovakia. Similar demands were also made at a meeting in eastern Bohemia. I was thinking: What would I say if I was to speak at such a meeting? My speech would be as follows: Friends, your demands are justified. The presence of soldiers on your territory, although only from a friendly allied state, is an anachronism. In any case, it is hardly in concord with terms like sovereignty, national confidence, or common sense.

This incompatibility has shown itself, especially strongly when people in Czechoslovakia—like Poland, Hungary, and the GDR, on whose territory are also Soviet troops—have started to follow the path of democratic reforms, when national awareness is being reborn, when for the first time in many years a man is gaining real rights as a citizen. Believe me, I would go on to say that fathers, mothers, and brides of these soldiers do not desire anything more than their return home.

What is at stake, we all ask. Let the trumpet sound and motorcades move toward the East. It is not all that simple. We must understand that a withdrawal of troops is not an operation to be carried out in a minute, but a complicated process. It is connected with the solution of a number of problems: political, military, and economic. It must be connected with the all-European talks about disarmament in Vienna. It looks as though this year the issue about a significant reduction of the armed forces and arms in Europe will be solved there. Military parity between the two blocs, the Warsaw Pact and NATO, will be preserved.

It is necessary for many reasons. Let us take, for example, the calls for revision of borders of socialist states, changes in the political map of the continent, and so on, which are heard in the West. There is another aspect, too: The Soviet side must prepare itself for the reception of a considerable contingent returning home. It is possible that somebody will say about this latest problem: It is your affair. Do whatever you like with it. I shall quote you a slightly different example: At the recent CEMA session everybody called for the immediate reorganization of its activity, and primarily for a hard currency financial mechanism. At the same time the Hungarians complained that the Soviet side owes them a lot with regard to today's trade balance. Soviet Premier Nikolay Ryzhkov said: We are willing to change immediately if that is required to settle accounts in convertible currency and in world prices. The Hungarians have calculated that in that case, within a year they would owe the USSR over a billion dollars. No, they said, let us introduce the reform gradually.

Why do I mention this? Complicated problems cannot be settled all at once, without thinking about the consequences. I can understand from the human point of view the Czechoslovak people: I will awake tomorrow morning and the Soviet military town will be empty. Unfortunately, life dictates its own laws, its own speed. In my view, the most important thing is to see that events develop in the desired direction. I have in mind the wishes of all participants at the meeting at which I am pretending to speak. The facts show this.

The principle standpoint of the Soviet Government is clear: Not a single Soviet soldier must be left abroad. The withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the GDR has already started. By the way, it started a long time before the creation of Civic Forum, the initiator of the current meeting in Czechoslovakia.

The first round of Soviet-Czechoslovak talks about the further withdrawal of Soviet troops has already taken place. Similar talks are to open with Hungary. A normal constructive process has been taking place. With a joint effort we shall eradicate the remnants of the past in our own countries, and also our mutual relations.

The process itself will be difficult; it will require a lot of tact, persistence, and good will. Does it make sense to complicate it under the influence of emotions? Impatience can easily change a situation to its being unbearable. This is what I would say if I found myself at a meeting somewhere in eastern Bohemia.

Risk Seen in Dismantling Krasnoyarsk Radar

90UI0309A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 4, 24 Jan 90 p 11

[Article by Aviation Major General (Retired) B. Surikov, candidate of technical sciences: "Will World Be Safer...if Krasnoyarsk Radar Is Dismantled?"]

[Text] It would seem it is a paradox: By reducing armaments, we are increasing the danger of nuclear war. But the whole point are the kinds of armaments we are cutting!

We, I am speaking of our government, as is well-known, have agreed to dismantle the superpowerful Krasnoyarsk radar. We agreed in the hope of setting an infectious good example, and, of course, under the strong pressure of the U.S. Administration. It attributed the start of a new upward turn in the arms race—the development of the so-called "Star Wars"—directly to construction in the USSR of this now regrettably well-known radar.

The decision by the Soviet Government was preceded by long negotiations with the Americans. The United States insisted that the construction of a radar with such power is a violation of the ABM treaty—anti-ballistic missile defense. They had their own reasons, inasmuch as such radars, according to the treaty, could only be located on the periphery of one's national territory, with the antenna systems oriented outwardly. And we built it, it can be said, right in the center of the country.

But we also had our own reasons. "Nuclear deterrence," which is still an operative strategy in the United States, in contrast to the USSR, allows the employment of a nuclear first strike. Defense Secretary R. Cheney announced on 13 September 1989 at the Hudson Institute that the United States and its allies have no reasons to change the currently operative strategy. Naturally, in such a situation, a missile attack warning system has special significance for us. And it consists, it will be recalled, of space- and ground-based information systems.

The space echelon is several on-watch artificial earth satellites (ESV) [earth satellite vehicle] that provide continuous monitoring of all ground-based and naval-based missile threat areas. However, detection is possible from space only of missile movement in the boost phase, owing to the thermal emanations of the jet engines. The ESV's quite often produce false alarms.

The principal means of detecting a nuclear missile attack today are considered to be radars that can detect a strategic missile at distances of thousands of kilometers and the modeling of their flight trajectories. American specialists know that the radars located in Murmansk, Riga, Mukachevo, Sevastopol, Mingechaur, and at Balkhash and Pechora, provide monitoring of all missile threat axes. **With the exception of the northeast!**

For the purpose of creating a 360-degree radar warning field and of ensuring monitoring of the northeastern missile threat axis, research was completed in 1979 on the creation of a radar in the Far North in strict conformity to the ABM treaty. At the same time, draft work was also performed on construction in the Krasnoyarsk area. And it turned out that this variant would be three times cheaper than the deployment of a radar in the Far North.

It was decided not to coordinate the construction at Krasnoyarsk with the American side, inasmuch as the new radar, which was informational in nature, would be deployed at a distance of more than 3,000 km from the center of Europe and could not be considered to be a part of the ABM territorial radar system of the country. In addition, the radar does not have an independent power supply and works in the meter waveband, and such radars, and this is known to the American specialists, are "blinded" for one to two minutes by a nuclear explosion and, for this reason also, could not be considered to be full-fledged ABM equipment.

No one surmised at that time that, within 4 years, U.S. President Reagan would come out with the SDI [strategic defense initiative] program, and that the Krasnoyarsk radar would become a trump card of the American Administration in disarmament negotiations. Despite all of our efforts to explain, in the final analysis we were compelled to agree to its dismantlement. It would seem that justice triumphed. We removed one more obstruction on the road to the development of normal relations between the USSR and the United States. But has this made it easier for us and the Americans to live?

Alas, as a result of the dismantling of the Krasnoyarsk radar, the danger of a nuclear catastrophe is not being decreased, but it is being increased!!!

At no time during the elaboration of the ABM treaty now in force did any one of the experts suppose that near-earth space would be so densely filled with nonfunctioning artificial satellites and other space objects that it would be difficult for an astronomer to observe the starry sky. From space, our Earth resembles a stirred-up beehive, around which bees are swarming in a solid ring. There are more than 17,000 space objects of an artificial origin, and they are continuously leaving orbit and entering the dense layers of the atmosphere, and...they can be interpreted as ballistic missiles that are attacking us.

This is the kind of data that Lynne Sennot, professor of mathematics at Illinois State University, cites in his work: For the period 1977-84, the United States registered 1,152 false alarms of average seriousness concerning Soviet ICBM attacks on the United States. It is not known how many such alarms there were in the Soviet Union; we did not publicize this kind of information, but even if there were just as many as in the United States, then, through error, we were on the brink of a third world war many times. Fortunately, warning systems are an art, I would say, and the talent of officers working with extremely complicated equipment in the Soviet Union and the United States, saved us from a nuclear catastrophe.

I will cite the recently expressed opinion of Doctor John Steinbrunner, director of foreign policy research programs at the Brookings Institute. He reported that analysis shows: If the space- and ground-based echelons of the warning system are functioning normally, then the officers of the combat control center, even in extreme danger, can correctly estimate the situation with a probability of 0.95. That is, almost error free.

However, disablement of the space- or ground-based echelon of the warning system reduces the probability of a correct decision to 0.6. But, you see, also not excluded are some kind of malfunctions and interference with the warning optics, at which time the probability of a correct estimate would fall to 0.2. This is a very dangerous level!

What is the conclusion? Essentially, after the Krasnoyarsk radar is dismantled, which will cost R50 million, we in the Soviet Union will not have a ground-based warning system against a nuclear missile attack from a northeastern direction in a sector of 120 degrees on the horizon. Of course, it can be replaced with two warning radars in the Far North. Which is permitted by the ABM treaty. But here again there are expenditures—not less than R1 billion. And, also, it is hardly likely that the sites could be put into operation before the year 2000.

When I expressed my fears relating to the dismantlement of the Krasnoyarsk radar to S. Kinney, an American ABM expert, he asked me: "Why were explanations regarding the actual role of the Krasnoyarsk radar not made known to the American public in a timely way? And how come the technical problem was turned into a political one?"

I had no answer to his question.

In the summer of 1989, the USSR and the United States signed an agreement about avoiding dangerous military activity, which should lessen the danger of an outbreak of armed incidents resulting from an incorrect estimate of the intentions of one of the sides. The agreement went into effect on 1 January 1990, and it will promote greater stability and the security of both sides. However...

Can the Americans today experience a feeling of satisfaction from the dismantling of the Krasnoyarsk radar, which, in fact, insured their own security by preventing an error in reaching a decision concerning the initiation of an ICBM attack?

It is always easier to ask questions. Therefore, I would like to conclude with a proposal for real steps, as it seems to me, that are directed at reducing the danger of the start of a war "by mistake." It is necessary to establish permanent direct communications between command posts of the missile attack warning system and to arrange the exchange of data on deorbiting space objects to ensure joint express-analysis of false alarm signals... And may God help us not to become hostages to our own arrogance!

Pugwash Meeting on Chemical Weapons Ends

LD2901053190 Moscow TASS in English 2109 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Text] Geneva January 28 TASS—The 15th session of the Pugwash working group on chemical weapons ended in Geneva on Sunday. It was attended by about 70 scientists and disarmament experts from the United States, the Soviet Union, France, Britain, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Switzerland, Poland and a number of other countries.

The two-day discussions centered on how the participants in the Pugwash Movement can help the conference on disarmament to expedite work to finalise the elaboration of an international convention on a ban on and elimination of chemical weapons.

Problems concerning the elaboration of specific procedures and a mechanism for the operation of a future convention and verification measures were discussed in particular.

Special attention was devoted to matters connected with the termination of the development of new types of chemical weapons, technical aspects of that verification and control over the export of dual-purpose chemical products.

Gennadiy Gerasimov 26 January Press Briefing

TASS Summary

LD2601175990 Moscow TASS in English 1741 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 26 TASS—Prime Minister of the German Democratic Republic Hans Modrow will pay a working visit to Moscow later this month, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said today. He was invited by the Soviet Government.

Gennadiy Gerasimov said that during the visit Modrow will conduct talks with his Soviet counterpart Nikolay Ryzhkov and will possibly confer with President Mikhail Gorbachev. The sides will discuss international issues, bilateral relations and also relations between the USSR and West Germany and the GDR and West Germany.

Gerasimov described as "unfounded and premature" recent statements by United States officials that the possible victory of the Sandinistas at the forthcoming elections in Nicaragua will not be honest and just, since they interfere with the electoral process.

He noted that in the USSR's opinion, the Nicaraguan government seeks to ensure adequate conditions for a truly democratic electoral process. This is corroborated by the appraisal of the electoral campaign given by Elliot Richardson, the U.N. secretary-general's personal representative for the monitoring of the electoral process in Nicaragua.

Any attempts to exert outside psychological influence introduces an element of nervousness and do not create appropriate conditions for fair elections Gerasimov stressed.

The Soviet Union received with satisfaction Thursday's statement at the Vienna talks on conventional armaments by the foreign ministers of France, West Germany and Italy. They favoured, in part, convening as early as this year a summit within the framework of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and holding the dialogue on disarmament without recess.

"The ministers' stance demonstrates a sensible approach to European realities. The Soviet side has always advocated the speeding up of the Vienna talks and a stage-by-stage reduction in tactical nuclear weapons," Gerasimov noted.

Touching on reports about a trip by Aeroflot's representatives to Taiwan to discuss the possibility of opening direct air traffic between the two countries, Gerasimov said that, according to the Soviet Civil Aviation Ministry, Aeroflot and Taiwan Airlines has not conducted and are not conducting any talks now.

Gerasimov said that Soviet-West German consultations on cooperation in combatting international terrorism were held at the Soviet Foreign Ministry on Wednesday and Thursday. The Soviet side was represented by the State Security Committee (KGB), Civil Aviation and Merchant Marine Ministries officials, the West German side by officials of the Interior, Justice and Transport Ministries. The sides discussed a wide range of issues pertaining to increasing multilateral and bilateral cooperation in the fight against terrorism.

Answering a question on the details of Soviet-Israeli cooperation in nuclear power engineering, which was mentioned in the context of the talks between the Soviet Chamber of Commerce and Industry and the Federation of Israeli Chambers of Commerce, Gerasimov said that the talks concerned problems of ensuring the safety of nuclear power engineering only in general terms. As people across the world are becoming aware of ecological perils, questions of ensuring the safety of nuclear power engineering are increasingly relevant, Gerasimov stressed.

Azerbaijan Mission 'Raids'

LD2601155390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1438 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Special TASS correspondent report]

[Excerpt] Moscow, 26 Jan (TASS)—At a briefing held today, Gennadiy Gerasimov, the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs spokesman, reported that law enforcement bodies in Moscow had arrested Etibar Mamedov, member of the Azerbaijan People's Front "who had arrived from Baku to prepare anti-social actions and to draw persons of Azerbaijani nationality living in the capital into them." An investigation is under way, he added.

"As far as the attack (on the Azerbaijani permanent mission) is concerned, an elucidation has, as far as I know, been provided today at the Azerbaijani permanent mission about this. There were two raids, at 2330 and 0230 [local time], according to them." G. Gerasimov said that he had no other details.

AFP on Mamedov Arrest

AU2601133690 Paris AFP in English 1331 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] MOSCOW, Jan 26 (AFP)—Azerbaijani nationalist leader Ektibar Mamedov, who has denounced the Soviet military presence in the Azerbaijani capital Baku, was arrested here Friday, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov said.

Mr. Mamedov's whereabouts had been unknown since a double attack overnight by gunmen at the Azerbaijan republic's government office here after which a number of Azeris were taken in for questioning.

Mr. Mamedov gave a press conference at the offices on Thursday, in which he warned Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev of a "second Afghanistan" in the southern republic.

Azeri spokesman Zukhrab Shamkhalov said earlier that Mr. Mamedov was among a group of Azeris taken to a Moscow police station for questioning after a gang of about 15 men, toting submachine-guns, forced their way into the Azerbaijan offices.

The helmeted gunmen, wearing bulletproof vests, first broke into the offices late Thursday and searched the building, according to Mr. Shamkhalov.

The second raid, by the same group accompanied by about 10 men in civilian clothes, occurred three hours later, in the early hours of Friday. All the Azeris in the offices were forced into a bus and taken in for questioning before being released.

Soviet security forces have rounded up dozens of people in a crackdown on radical nationalists in Baku.

Ties With Panama

LD2601144890 Moscow TASS in English 1438 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 26 TASS—The statement of Panamanian Foreign Minister Julio Linares that relations between Panama and the Soviet Union should be developed and diplomatic relations should be established was noted in the Soviet Union, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov told a briefing here today.

The spokesman said that contacts between the two countries, above all in the commercial and economic area, have been maintained for a number of years.

Missions of a number of Soviet organisations—the Ministries of Fisheries, of Merchant Marine, of Civil Aviation, as well as bureaus of some Soviet news organisations—function in Panama.

"A commercial agreement between the Soviet Union and Panama and a number of other agreements are operating, and we hope that the Panamanian side will honour them," Gerasimov said.

"It stands to reason that we cannot view our relations with Panama and prospects for their development apart from the situation that has shaped in Panama and around it. Our principled appraisal of this situation is well-known," the spokesman said.

"All U.S. forces that invaded Panama should immediately be withdrawn, which would be an important step towards the restoration of Panama's sovereignty. Then it will be possible to discuss the widening of contacts with Panama in a more specific way," Gerasimov said.

Nicaraguan Elections

LD2601152190 Moscow TASS in English 1510 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 26 TASS—Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Geraimov described as "unfounded and premature" recent statements by United States officials that the possible victory of the Sandinistas at the forthcoming elections in Nicaragua will not be honest and just, since they interfere with the electoral process.

Speaking at a briefing today, he noted that in the USSR's opinion, the Nicaraguan Government seeks to ensure adequate conditions for a truly democratic electoral process.

This is corroborated by the appraisal of the electoral campaign given by Elliot Richardson, the U.N. secretary-general's personal representative for the monitoring of the electoral process in Nicaragua.

Gerasimov noted that international observers were invited to that country by the Nicaraguan Government which displayed readiness to hold the elections under international control.

He noted in this context that it is important to give a chance to the U.N. mission and other invited foreign representatives to fulfil their functions with the utmost objectivity.

Any attempts to exert outside psychological influence introduce an element of nervousness and do not create appropriate conditions for fair elections.

"The Soviet Union believes that the elections under the control of the U.N. mission and other international observers should determine the future of Nicaragua. The USSR hopes that their results will be respected by all states, above all by the United States," stressed Gerasimov.

North Sea Shipping Accident

LD2601151690 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1330 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, 26 Jan (TASS)—Speaking today at a briefing, Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, confirmed Western news agency reports that the Soviet cargo vessel "Briz" is suffering a disaster in the North Sea.

He supplied journalists with information provided by the USSR Ministry of the Fish Industry, to which the disaster-stricken vessel belongs. The Foreign Ministry spokesman announced that, at 1500 Moscow time on 24 January, water was found to be entering the engine room of the refrigerated cargo vessel "Briz," which had a crew of 56, while it was on its way to fishing grounds in the central eastern Atlantic. Despite the measures taken by the crew, the ship lost its electrical power and was forced to heave to.

Dutch rescue vessels, the USSR Ministry of the Fish Industry's vessel "Stroptivyy," the USSR Ministry of the Maritime Fleet's vessels "Vladimir," "Novolvovsk," and "Tsiglomin," as well as Belgian and FRG helicopters, took part in assisting the "Briz."

According to the latest information, Gennadiy Gerasimov said, owing to the extreme conditions prevailing, all 56 members of the crew of the "Briz" were lifted off the vessel by the coastal rescue services. At present, the "Briz" is continuing to drift. When the weather improves, measures will be taken to tow it into the nearest port in the Netherlands.

'International Observers Roundtable'

LD2801184390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1230 GMT 28 Jan 90

["International Observers Roundtable" program, presented by all-union radio commentator Vladimir Georgiyevich Pasko, with Vitaliy Yakovlevich Chukseyev, member of the TASS board and chief editor of TASS foreign news; and Vsevolod Ivanovich Sovva, deputy head of the Foreign Ministry Information Directorate]

[Excerpts] [Pasko] Hello, comrades. Quite a few events took place in the course of the past week, but the tragic events in Azerbaijan and Armenia became one of the main subjects of attention, both here and abroad. Human grief arouses compassion in every normal person. Compassion for the victims of the conflict and the desire to prevent it from exacerbating has prompted many people of various political convictions, positions, and beliefs to make appeals to the peoples of Armenia and Azerbaijan to stop the wave of violence, enmity, and lynch law. These opinions also determine the attitudes toward the actions of the Soviet leadership, directed at resolving the conflict.

[Chukseyev] Yes, indeed, the great majority of the commentaries express an understanding of the fact that these measures were necessary to restore civil peace—I stress: necessary and forced. This was noted in particular by a representative of the U.S. State Department, Tutwiler. She particularly pointed out that the application of force to suppress a peaceful and lawful political action.

In general one must say that the fact that the Transcaucasian events have lately become a compulsory subject at all briefings and press conferences of the leadership and the representatives of the U.S. Administration testifies to an enormous interest in them in the U.S. Last week, President Bush spoke about this subject practically every day, in the course of various answers to questions. For instance, in an interview with NEWSWEEK magazine, he was asked: Are you worried about the use of force in Azerbaijan? The answer was, I quote: I would very much like it if one could do without that. But you are facing a situation in which the Soviet Union is trying to remove an ethnic conflict. These problems, which are very difficult for Gorbachev, cannot be alleviated by lofty talking on the part of other countries' leaders.

[Sovva] Yes, Vitaliy Yakovlevich. The world is looking at our Transcaucasus—especially, of course, at the situation in Azerbaijan. The world is looking at it through a kind of magnifying glass. Attempts are being made to understand the essence of this conflict, and many realize that, naturally, it came about neither today, nor yesterday, nor 72 years ago—I mean the October revolution. These days many lawyers and historians are searching the archives, in order to understand where the roots of this conflict lead; a conflict of an ethnic character, a conflict which is now—and many note this—an internal problem of the Soviet Union. And it was this that, as you know, President Bush pointed out.

No one of course, is giving a simple solution. But governments, official circles, and lawyers are comparing attentively what is going on, what steps are being taken here at the central and the republican level, and at the level of the military command—with what corresponds to international practice and is usually used in the world and in civilized countries in order to restore the democratic order. And I can say, on the basis of the materials that have arrived at the Information Directorate, that there are and can be no serious reproofs regarding our way of action, because, indeed, everything was done patiently, with self-restraint, and specifically taking account of the evolving situation. Although, naturally, one also comes across voices of a critical kind. Some would like to say that one should have acted earlier; others says that perhaps some steps should have been postponed. But this is all ultimately based on incomplete information as well, because the voices that speak directly from the scene of events in many cases vary and are intertwined with, I would say, ill-intentioned attempts to exaggerate and distort what is going on there.

Let us take, for instance, the number of dead: between the number of about 100 people, to trying to impose on the world—with reference to some sources directly in Baku—up to 3,700 people. The difference is huge! And this lie shows that certain persons would like to incite passions here—both directly in this country and outside it.

[Pasko] Everything that is happening in our country is being considered from only one angle: How do certain events and Soviet leadership's actions fall in line with the aims of perestroyka? The newspapers in many countries are now trying to get to the roots of the conflict, and there are various opinions. Some tend to reduce everything to the cultural and religious differences between the two peoples. But these differences did not stop a large number of Azeris harboring Armenians against the pogroms.

I think, in fact, that the roots of the conflict lie in the material rather than the spiritual sphere. And this is a view shared by many Western observers, including a newspaper like OSSERVATORE ROMANO which, as we know, is the mouthpiece of the Papal Catholic See. It might be expected to give preference precisely to the differences in the spiritual sphere; but no, it also looks at the events in Azerbaijan in the light of their repercussions for perestroyka.

So what conclusion does it reach? The conflicts that have broken out, it says, stem not from the perestroyka that has been courageously begun in the Soviet Union, but from the prolonged stagnation that preceded it. The problems and dramas, it says, did not arise today, which is precisely what you have just been saying Vsevolod Ivanovich. These problems existed in an acute form in the past as well, and it is now essential to begin resolving them by means of the complex art of political action, boldness, patience, and forward-looking courage.

[Chukseyev] Yes, similar assessments are being heard in the Muslim world too, you know, though not everywhere, it has to be said: Emotions are boiling in some countries. Take the Turkish leadership, for instance. Last week Prime Minister Akbulut and Foreign Minister Yilmaz made statements emphasizing that the events in Transcaucasia are the Soviet Union's internal affair and that they have no intention of interfering in them. On more than one occasion officials have criticized some of the Western mass media for distorted reporting from Azerbaijan and for misinforming public opinion.

Sharply at odds with this official position, however, were some remarks by a number of Turkish members of parliament about the situation taking on the nature of a mass human rights violations as a result of the actions of Soviet troops in Baku. There have even been calls in the Turkish parliament to send military equipment to Baku. This kind of disinformation and incitement is exacerbating the situation even further and compounding the tragic consequences of the present conflict.

[Sovva] Yes, and this is why the governments of the contiguous countries—as the expression goes—are maintaining the very closest contact with one another. It's important that feelings and views like this do not become a foundation for official policy, for official actions. It's very important to preserve the balance of interests in that region; it's very important that the border remain a peaceful frontier and that emotions do not surge across the border, though in practice this is difficult to achieve in our times of such direct contact. Still, the border should be a place that brings peoples closer together rather than one that divides them, and a very great deal of attention is now being devoted to ensuring that the frontier line is observed, and that the regulations and accords are observed. This is now being done successfully in many cases, I think.

In this connection I'd like to draw your attention to what some Western correspondents have been saying, in particular those accredited in Moscow. Quite literally, they are openly saying: For goodness sake, let's not have any new regional conflicts.

[Chukseyev] Yes, I agree, Vsevolod Ivanovich. In these commentaries, Western observers and correspondents are clearly apprehensive about the possibility of this conflict becoming internationalized. I recently happened to see an article in THE NEW YORK TIMES saying, among other things, the following: Broadcasts by Iranian radio and statements by Iranian officials received by the U.S. Government indicate that Iran wishes to maintain calm on the border and cooperate with Moscow in order to prevent the unrest spreading.

[Sovva] Yes, and this is also indicated by the news that Iran's foreign minister, Velayatti, has given instructions for appropraite talks and contacts to be held with the Soviet Government.

[Pasko] You know, the attitude being taken to what is happening in our country reflects, in my view, one of the most important features of our time—the realization that the world is interdependent. After all, the vast majority of people are looking at what's going on here not from the point of view of how much damage it might do to us, but of how much damage it might do to international security.

The Italian newspaper IL MESSAGGERO has expressed this idea very concisely. The security of the West, it writes, will be unquestionably weakened if a zone of instability emerges between the Baltic Sea and Central Asia. It's this awareness of interdependence that largely explains the West's behavior toward us and the countries of Eastern and Central Europe. As for the steps that the West should be taking in the present conditions, IL MESSAGGERO thinks it essential, first and foremost, to make it clear to the Soviet Union that no threat whatsoever can emanate from the West. For this it is essential to pursue a policy of reinforcing mutual trust and creating objective conditions for consolidating common security. Europe and the United States, says the newspaper, should propose to the Soviet Union a joint quest for means of ensuring collective security and political cooperation to help surmount any possible crisis.

This, I would say, is the watershed that now separates the conservatives from the liberals, in U.S. politics for instance. The conservatives believe that any weakening of the U.S. presence in Europe, substantial cuts in military expenditure, or serious economic concessions would merely contribute to weakening U.S. positions as regards the Soviet Union. The liberal politicians, on the other hand, take the view that the positions of the Soviet conservatives will weaken if Gorbachev manages to demonstrate that this policy is producing positive results. This is, in fact, the watershed. And we can see evidence of this confrontation not only in the press but in real life as well.

[Sovva] Tomorrow the U.S. Congress begins discussing the military budget, and it's already clear that it will be a very tough debate. According to the latest public opinion polls only 13 percent of Americans believe there is a need to increase defense expenditure. Any attitudes are similar in other NATO countries at the moment too. The British and Canadian defense ministers stated this week that there can be no question of cutting military budgets, but there is virtually nothing to justify such a position now. Paradoxically, there have now been calls from the West for us not to withdraw our troops from Eastern and central Europe. Indeed, concern over this was voiced last week by no less a person than Rowny, the U.S. Administration's adviser on arms control.

[Chukseyev] In private conversations with journalists, Western diplomats are talking quite openly about these concerns and worries. One of them said bluntly—this is reported by REUTER—that if the Russians leave it will be very difficult for us to explain to public opinion why U.S. troops should remain in Europe.

[Sovva] That's one aspect, but we must still, of course, keep our eyes on the Vienna negotiating table, where all these troops are, in the end, incorporated in a multilateral reckoning-up, because all this creates a balance, a balance of forces. And, naturally, any such reduction must be carried out in line with the Vienna calculations, so as to show which troops remain where in the end and who is making the greatest contribution to the cause of disarmament. All contributions should be, I would say, agreed and proportionate, because this is not a charity auction where you can pay in totally different sums. It's a matter of each state making a contribution, and this will be both on an agreed basis and a unilateral basis. In the final analysis, the result will take the form of the outcome of the talks that we expect during this year.

[Pasko] Well, I would like to add to what you have said, Vsevolod Ivanovich, that certain accords have already been reached at the Vienna talks. In particular, an accord that each side will be left with 1.35 million soldiers. I think the withdrawal will have an impact on regional cuts, but it's perfectly clear that the withdrawals that are now being carried out and that are still to come must take into account the accords reached both on a bilateral and a multilateral basis. I think that the West will, nonetheless, have to carry out cuts. Last Wednesday, the Budget Office of the U.S. Congress submitted to the Senate its forecasts on the federal budget deficit. According to their calculations, expenditure and revenue will not be balanced in 1993 as envisaged unless new sources of income are found or new expenditure cuts are carried out. The size of military allocations has become intolerable everywhere, and the political situation makes it possible to cut that expenditure.

This week the Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space weapons resumed. The sides are not saying a great deal about how the talks are going, but to judge by appearances there is some movement. This is indicated, in particular, by the publication in the United States of detailed information on the number of warheads in the U.S. strategic arsenals.

In Vienna the unprecedented seminar of the 35 participant countries in the all-European process on military doctrines is continuing in the framework of the talks on trust-building measures. This week's speeches at the conventional armed forces talks by the foreign ministers of France, the FRG, and Italy were, in my view, an undoubted event. Their speeches boiled down to the need to reach an agreement on conventional forces as soon as possible in order to open up the possibility of holding a new all-European summit meeting—Helsinki 2—as early as this year. [passage omitted]

[Sovva] If we talk about the East European countries, it is difficult to find a common denominator with which we should approach the situation in each of them because the diversity of conditions and standards is too great. And the events which have led to the need for reforms have evidently been coming to a head in ways which are too divergent. It can be said with full certainty that each of these countries is undergoing a complete overhaul which is naturally proceeding with very great difficulty. On a new democratic basis, as has just been mentioned by Vitaliy Yalovlevich, some countries are still tempted to intervene in these events.

As for the USSR, its position is clear. It has been documented and does not arouse any criticisms. I have no remarks to make in this regard, because we indeed take a sympathetic view of the development but we clearly proceed on the assumption that this is an internal matter of every sovereign country.

But in some respects that desire on the part of some to nudge on the development of events can be felt, nevertheless. I would even like to mention that without any permission or invitation the West is also trying to do this. For example, the main parties in the FRG are attempting to create parties in the GDR according to the same model. If there were a Christian Democratic Socialist party in the West, then we would create the same kind of the Christian Democratic Socialist party in the GDR too, which would be prompted into taking steps which would lead to the withdrawal of the existing government. Incidentally, it has in fact just pulled out of the government of Hans Modrow. If there were a large and respectable Socialist Democratic Party of Germany in the FRG, there would be a desire to create an exact counterpart under the same name. And this desire has already emerged, incidentally. I can say the same not only about the Liberal Party but also, regrettably, about the Republican Party which, in fact, we never used to perceive as a Nazi party. But it is also employing the same methods, although of course, I would say, on a different unconstitutional basis. Certainly, this cannot but arouse criticisms on an international scale, but this is being rebuffed at the local level, directly in the areas where important democratic changes are under way, and where certain cliches and stereotypes are being imposed from the past. It is very important to restrain ourselves from employing the approaches of the past.

There is a very great deal of talk about the reunification of Germany. But let us think about the term reunification. In both the FRG and GDR, they are now talking directly about reunification. But they have never been together. They have always existed separately. In the final analysis, it means that this thesis is being directed at the reunificaiton of Germany—and it is added right away—within the 1937 borders.

As Oskar Fischer, the GDR foreign minister, recently stressed in Moscow, such an approach is, naturally, out of the question. It is another matter that the two states, within the common European home, may find forms of creating a community on a basis of political, economic, and cultural accords, considering that they, as you mentioned Vitaliy Yakovlevich, are inhabited by one nation, and can have their own closer relations. And as correctly said at one time by the Soviet side—and in my opinion this point of view is set—let us leave the question of a unified Germany for the future to resolve.

[Pasko] Events in the world are developing dynamically, so dynamically that it is simply impossible to keep an eye on everything. What is curious is the admission which could be heard last week at a session of the U.S. Senate Armed Services Committee by Webster, director of the CIA. The pace of change is so rapid, he said, that specific assessments become out of date almost as soon as they are prepared. Evidently, this is how it is. But I think that the direction of the processes under way is still very definite. For all the contradictions, the world is nevertheless moving in the direction of greater democratization, greater mutual understanding and greater cooperation. And at the end of the day, this is what constitutes the meaning we put into the concept of civilized relations.

Comrades, thank you for our meeting today. All the best.

Bush, Thatcher Back Gorbachev Over Transcaucasus

PM2901131190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Jan 90 Second Edition p 1

[TASS reports under "Abroad" rubric: "Restoring Peace and Tranquillity"; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] 26 Jan—The leading politicians and mass media are now stressing their sympathy and understanding concerning the latest measures to regularize the situation in the Soviet Transcaucasus. They voice the hope that the disturbances provoked by extremists will not strike at perestroyka.

Washington—Asked to comment on some pessimistic assessments of the situation around the Transcaucasus, U.S. President G. Bush said at a meeting in the White House with newspaper editors that the Soviet leader "has acted very well in an extremely difficult situation. Gorbachev is still committed to peaceful change and I do not believe that anyone has blamed him for the difficulties that he has encountered in Azerbaijan." "I think that he has coped splendidly with the task." The President stressed that "he very much wants to see Gorbachev succeed."

Voicing the hope that people in the Soviet Union "will be able to control the situation and restore peace," G. Bush said that then the perestroyka process "will be able to progress in the spirit of democracy."

London—British Prime Minister M. Thatcher, answering a question in Parliament about the interethnic problems in the USSR, voiced support for the Soviet leadership's course of perestroyka, despite the difficulties encountered on this path. "Regarding the problems in the Soviet Union," the head of the British Government said, "I am sure that everyone wholeheartedly supports Gorbachev, who has to resolve them, and fully supports him in his political and economic reforms."

Sharing his impressions of his recent visit to the USSR in an interview with BBC radio, W. Waldegrave, minister of state for foreign affairs, also expressed a high opinion of the perestroyka policy, expressing confidence that the Soviet people will not renounce it, despite the difficulties they are experiencing.

United States & Canada

Shevardnadze Interviewed on U.S. Relations

LD2801104290 Moscow TASS in English 1012 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 28 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze gave an interview to the ASSOCIATED PRESS news agency in connection with an official visit to Moscow early in February of U.S. Secretary of State James Baker. Follows the full text of the interview:

Q: The Bush Adminstration has been in place for a year now. Its long policy review has been completed, and Presidents Bush and Gorbachev have held their first summit meeting. How would you describe the state of U.S.-Soviet relations and superpower efforts to solve regional conflicts?

A: I believe that in analysing Soviet-U.S. relations we can, on the whole, look with satisfaction back to the past year. And the prospects too seem to be favorable.

It has been possible not only to maintain the positive momentum in the development of relations between our two countries, but also to elevate them to a new dimension. Both sides agree that having renounced the spirit of confrontation and achieved certain mutual understanding we must now move on to mutual action.

This need arises virtually in all spheres of Soviet-U.S. relations, not in the last instance—in the area of solving regional conflicts that you have mentioned.

We have seen some tangible improvements here, although difficulties persist too.

The successes of the past year, to be credited also to Soviet- U.S. contacts, include the settlement in South-West Africa and the achievement of independence by Namibia.

The machinery to promote a Cambodian settlement is shifting into higher gear. It seems we can now see the light at the end of the tunnel there.

We keep constantly in sight the problems of the Middle East. It is important that Israel too should help take advantage of the opportunities that are there.

A political settlement in Afghanistan is literally knocking on the door. Reliance on military force has outlived itself.

The peace process in Central America has travelled a long and difficult path. In this connection the U.S. action against Panama, undertaken at a very crucial period for that region, gives rise to grave concern. We have expressed our attitude toward the use of force, toward contempt for international law. We hope that a sense of realism will prevail in Washington and that respect will be shown for the legitimate interests of Central American states and for their right to a free choice.

It can be seen from this brief "inventory" that there will be something for us to talk about with Secretary of State James Baker early in February in Moscow. We expect to have productive discussions.

Q: President Bush has said that the United States wants closer cooperation with the Soviet Union, and Secretary Baker has suggested that cooperation might include technical advice in areas such as international monetary affairs. The U.S. Administration is moving toward removal of trade barriers. What forms of cooperation would you say are most needed or would be most effective, and what short- term benefits are expected from improved trade relations?

A.: In the sphere of economic cooperation we think, just like the United States does, both of short-term and long-term mutual benefits. For all the difficulties of economic conditions in our country, the situation is not such that we need "the last straw." We have vast reserves. And the purpose of perestroyka is to mobilise those reserves.

At this time perestroyka is going through perhaps the most difficult period of transition from one economic management system and political structure to another. It turned out that the most difficult revolution is a peaceful revolution, a change in the minds of the people.

We have a perestroyka concept. We are continuing our creative search for approaches to implementing some of its individual elements. Despite all the difficulties, we keep moving steadily ahead. And we are convinced of our ultimate success.

One of the elements of the economic programme of perestroyka is the integration of our country into the world economy system. Our economic ties with the United States could have no small role here. The strategic goal is truly large-scale, mutually advantageous cooperation and interaction of Soviet and American economies. This would benefit both sides.

Unfortunately, what stands in the way is the remaining discriminatory barriers, whether the absence of the most favored nation treatment or the outdated Cocom regulations. We hope that the readiness the U.S. Administration declared in malta to move toward normalisation of trade and economic relations, will be translated into concrete deeds.

Q.: The United States and the Soviet Union are pressing for a strategic arms reduction agreement in principle by june and for signing of a start treaty this year. Yet, there has been little if any progress reported on the most difficult longstanding obstacles to agreement. Will the Soviet Union sign and implement a strategic arms reduction treaty that does not limit sea-launched cruise missiles, or restrict the U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative?

A.: One of the most important results at Malta was the political decision of the sides to conclude a start treaty in 1990. Generally speaking, this year can become "the disarmament year." It is quite realistic to reach agreements also in areas such as the reduction of conventional armed forces in Europe and the elimination of chemical weapons.

Thus, our joint policies have been defined very clearly. It now remains to translate them into negotiating positions.

As to the fundamental issues that you have touched upon, we submitted, back in Wyoming, compromise proposals on sea-launched cruise missiles. We are willing to limit them outside the treaty framework on the condition that the relevant provisions will be recorded concurrently with the treaty, will be mandatory and subject to verification.

We are willing to sign and implement a start treaty even without agreement on space, if the sides continue to observe the ABM Treaty as signed in 1972. That was also a major step that we took in Wyoming. It is to be hoped that Secretary Baker will bring to Moscow adequate responses to our initiatives. It is not too long before he comes here.

Q.: Does the United States' support for the independence of the Baltic Republics contribute to the separatist campaign in Lithuania and elsewhere, and will you seek a change in U.S. policy as part of President Gorbachev's efforts to prevent breakup of the union?

A.: We know the position of the United States which does not recognise the entry of the Baltic Republics into the union. Our assessment of it must be well known to you, too.

As to the specific aspects of establishing a truly federative structure of our country to supersede the unitarism, that actually existed, and setting up a new mechanism of relationships between the republics and the center, these problems are addressed in the course of a broad dialogue in our country taking into account the interests of all the ethnic groups.

The secession of some particular republics from the union would produce not only additional military-political and economic stresses for their population, but could also result in a major destabilisation of the existing international structure. It is in no one's interest to see this happen.

The problems of inter-ethnic relations are so delicate and sensitive that one should avoid any outside interference in the process of their development. Otherwise, one can provoke unpredicatable repercussions.

I should say that on the whole we see that responsible politicians are aware of this.

Thus, recently, the U.S. Administration has reaffirmed that since the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union the United States recognizes the territorial integrity of our country. The principles, recorded in the Helsinki Final Act to which the United States affixed its signature, are also well-known.

Q.: An article signed "Z" in the American magazine Daedalus has provoked something of a sensation with its contention that President Gorbachev's attempts at reform are futile and that the West should therefore not try to help them succeed. Perhaps the article is getting particular attention right now due to the climate, with Lithuania trying to break from Moscow, the Caucasus ablaze with ethnic quarrels and the economy unable to provide basic food and consumer goods to people throughout the country. How would you respond to "Z"?

A.: I know about the article by "Z" from its newspaper version. It is strange that the bag of old cliches it contains about the demise of socialism is portrayed as something of a sensation. This was written and spoken about many times over the past 70 years. And such forecasts always turned out to be in the dump of history. The article's author who seems to be prone to stereotype thinking has completely distorted ideas about the content of our perestroyka and about the nature of the on-going processes with Soviet society. It is our impression that the changes occurring in the world are not to his taste altogether and that he does not like the administration's course, which is supported by most Americans, for "a new closeness" with the Soviet Union.

As to our own difficulties, we do know about them and we do not conceal them. But we are confident that these difficulties will be overcome because there is no alternative to perestroyka. There is much work ahead of us and we are prepared to do it.

President Bush Cited on East Europe Changes

PM2601122990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Jan 90 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "G. Bush on Changes in East Europe"]

[Text] Washington, 25 Jan—On Wednesday [24 January], President Bush met with a group of representatives of commercial and noncommercial organizations which are taking part in the symposium being held here on questions of establishing business links in East European countries. Pointing out the "striking changes" in these countries, the President stressed that the administration is attentively following the development of events, but at the same time is "convinced that the advance of freedom and democracy cannot be reversed."

"We are now living through the end of one era and the beginning of another," the President stated, adding that the role played by the United States in Europe depends to a significant degree on "how well we can solve East European problems." Recalling that the United States has already undertaken to give over $1 billion to assist Poland and Hungary, the President announced that the question of aid to other East European countries is currently being actively examined in the administration.

"However, this task is beyond the power of one single government," the President continued. "We do not have the necessary resources for this. And it is essential for us that the private sector—both commercial and noncommercial organizations—channel its activity and resources into the processes currently taking place in East Europe." The President expressed the hope that the present symposium will enable its participants to ascertain where and how they can give assistance, and how the government can support their efforts in joint activity in East Europe.

"I will do everything I can so that we continue with all the exchanges that are going on at present to promote the development of mutual understanding in relations with the Soviet side," G. Bush stated in conclusion.

U.S. Decides To Defer Arms Control Talks

PM2601114190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
24 Jan 90 Second Edition p 7

[Dispatch by own correspondent V. Gan: "Shortsightedness?"]

[Text] Washington, 23 Jan—News just received from the White House is obviously going to cause disappointment on both sides of the Atlantic. The Bush administration has modified its officially declared policy and has decided to "temporarily" postpone further talks with the USSR on limiting underground nuclear explosions.

The official pretext is that Washington wants to see how Soviet-U.S. arms control agreements, which have not yet even been concluded, actually "work." Washington has again postponed talks on limiting underground nuclear explosions. If the people on the Potomac are satisfied, apparently, they will "OK" the completion of the work on ratifying the relevant Soviet-U.S. treaties, which has already dragged on for at least 20 years.

When they were being signed, everyone knew that without the abandonment of tests of new warheads there could be no genuine control of mass destruction weapons. We ratified the accords; the Americans did not. All manner of things they accused us of: violating the provisions of treaties limiting the yield of explosions, discharging radiation, and other sins. But unsubstantiated charges they remain, because there was no evidence or proof at all.

Not until the end of the Reagan Presidency did Washington "soften" somewhat, by agreeing to return to the question of the treaties' ratification provided they were "modified" in the light of the use of new methods of monitoring yields. The sides even exchanged delegations of experts, who tested the monitoring methods proposed by the other side. During USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze's September meeting with U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker in Wyoming, an agreement was reached on tighter verification measures.

But, to all appearances, the U.S. Administration is rather disinclined to take really effective steps in the arms control sphere. It appears that it is still incapable of shrugging off the hopelessly obsolete stereotypes of the "Soviet threat" and suspicion concerning the radical revision of the goals and very philosophy of our foreign policy. Is this shortsightedness or an actual stance?

Pressure Prompts U.S. To Ease Cocom Curbs

PM2601135590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
24 Jan 90 Second Edition p 7

[Vladimir Chernyshev "Observer's Opinion" under general heading: "To Avoid Being Isolated"]

[Text] The Coordinating Committee to control exports to socialist countries [Cocom], which was set up 40 years ago at the very height of the cold war and involves 17 Western countries, was intended, according to its organizers, to make absolutely sure that no "strategic commodities," or, to put it more simply, no industrial articles that might in any way be used for military purposes, ended up in the socialist countries.

Now the list of goods banned by Cocom includes more than 100,000 items. In short, if it wishes, the committee has the right to veto practically any deal because, for example, the construction of a tractor plant can be seen as the establishment of a base for the production of armored personnel carriers. It is no accident that one American entrepreneur remarked, tongue in cheek, that dishwashers could easily end up on the "blacklist" if the Pentagon could think of a way of using them for military purposes.

Any sensible person knows that Cocom, this product of the cold war, is an anachronism. In the age of the scientific and technical revolution, no bans can halt the development of scientific thought. A discovery or technical innovation appearing in one country will sooner or later appear in another. State borders, no matter how closely they are guarded, will not help.

Entrepreneurs in Britain, the FRG, Italy, and other West European countries, who feel very uncomfortable in suits made 4 decades ago which have long since gone out of fashion, believe, not without good cause, that the United States now needs Cocom, not so much to prevent state secrets from leaking out, as to place a barrier in the way of West European high-technology exports, which are becoming increasingly competitive in rivalry with transatlantic products.

The old-fashioned suit has to be either discarded or, at least, totally remade. The United States knows this too, since it is experiencing pressure from its West European allies and Japan. To a considerable extent this explains Washington's avowed intention to liberalize the control of exports to Western Europe.

However, THE WASHINGTON POST notes, even members of the U.S. Administration consider that

Washington's step will by no means satisfy the West Europeans, who are pressing for more extensive changes in the Cocom lists. For example, in the opinion of William Archi [name as transliterated], vice president of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce: If the administration's position is one of "adding a drop at a time," it is bound to fail, because the allies will not tolerate such an approach and will act independently. And this is precisely what Washington is trying to avoid.

Near East & South Asia

'American Mercenaries' Killed During Iran Hijack

LD2601170190 Moscow World Service in English 1600 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] There was an attempt to hijack an Iranian plane in Iran's airspace last night. REUTERS quotes Tehran Radio as saying that in a gun duel between security officers and attackers on board the aircraft, four American mercenaries were killed. The plane was en-route from Shiraz to Bander-e 'Abbas.

Iranian Stance on Soviet Azerbaijan Viewed

NC2701103090 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1500 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Yuriy Andreyev commentary from "World Today"]

[Text] Esteemed listeners, the Iranian Government recently resorted to several diplomatic acts in connection with the situation in Soviet Azerbaijan. Our analyst Yuriy Andreyev writes:

There is an old adage that the first victim of war is truth. The propaganda war that certain circles in Islamic countries have started against the Soviet Union in relation to the incidents in the Caucasus once again proves the truth of this wise adage. Rumors that are far removed from reality and outright lies appear in the pages of many newspapers. A realistic policy cannot be founded on such a weak basis. Facts and realities refute the hysterical reports that are intentionally distorting the nature of the incidents.

The situation in the Soviet Caucasus calls for a wise and cautious approach. It may be necessary for us to look more carefully at the stand that Tehran's official circles have adopted on this.

It is very clear that the Iranian leadership is following the incidents in Soviet Azerbaijan most carefully. Early this week the Iranian Government discussed matters concerning the situation in Azerbaijan at a special meeting chaired by President 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani. During this meeting the president and the cabinet of the Islamic Republic of Iran instructed 'Ali Akbar Velayati to take serious steps to solve the problems and to prevent bloodshed. Parallel with this, Tehran expressed its readiness to cooperate with the Soviet Union in solving the extremely complicated problems concerning the situation in the Soviet Caucasus. Practical steps were also taken toward this end.

Mr Naser Heyrani-Nowbari, Iran's ambassador in Moscow, met and talked with Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, first deputy foreign minister of the Soviet Union, and handed him a letter from Velayati to Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze. During an interview, the Iranian ambassador stressed that Tehran is prepared to extend any type of assistance to overcome the crisis. Mr Heyrani-Nowbari requested the Soviet Foreign Ministry to send a delegation to Tehran to hold talks on this. The Soviet delegation is expected to arrive in Iran in the very near future.

Thus, the Iranian leadership displayed its wish to carry out constructive talks with the Soviet Union on all issues concerning bilateral relations.

It seems that the mechanism of talks between the two countries which was introduced recently has passed the test of time successfully. This will definitely yield positive results.

Meanwhile, some Iranian organizations and personalities are trying to exploit the current situation in Azerbaijan to achieve their political ends. It is especially noteworthy that the particularly baseless accusations against the Soviet Union are being uttered by persons who were forced to resign from their sensitive government positions. 'Ali Akbar Mohtashami and 'Ali Akbar Nateq-Nuri, former ministers, and Ayatollah Sadeq Khalkhali who is [words indistinct], are among these. Ayatollah Khalkhali was once head of the revolutionary court and very proudly confessed that the number of people he had sentenced to death exceeded the total number of people sentenced to death by all the other judges. It is clear to everyone that such personalities are seeking, by exploiting the situation in Soviet Azerbaijan, to gain political points.

Apparently the Council of Iranian Students, which issued a thoughtless and overtly spiteful statement on the situation in the Soviet Caucasus, is also pursuing a similar objective.

Our commentator Yuriy Andreyev writes in conclusion: I want to remind the future generation of scholars and experts that violence and the use of strong language can never replace facts and realities and that the effort to sacrifice truth for the sake of achieving an imaginary gain will never (?be fruitful).

Actions of Iranian 'Fundamentalists' Scored

NC2701131690 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Persian to Iran 1530 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Sergey Salgirov commentary]

[Text] Mourning ceremonies and marches have been held in Tehran on the death of Muslims during the incidents in the Transcaucasus. Fundamentalists organized these mourning ceremonies and exploited them to kindle anti-Soviet sentiments and hysteria. Our commentator Sergey Salgirov writes on this:

Apparently many of the participants in the marches and mourning ceremonies in Tehran expressed sincere sympathy and sorrow for the victims of the incidents in Transcaucasia. They were filled with humanitarian sentiments or religious faith. But I do not believe that those who tried to give an anti-Soviet color to the mourning ceremonies shared in these sentiments. The reason for this is not only the fact that the fundamentalists, without regrets, sent youths into mined areas or the fact that they crushed the liberation (?calls) of the Iranian national minorities, including the Azerbaijanis, or the fact that they (?cast) thousands of innocent people into prisons or torture chambers, but the fact that the fundamentalists have not shown any interest in the establishment of a normal situation in the Transcaucasus and in making the Soviet-Iranian border a place of peace and goodneighborliness once again. After all, the fundamentalists are well aware of why a state of emergency was established in certain areas in Transcaucasia. It did not stem in any way from a desire to blindly pursue methods calling for the use of force in solving problems. On the contrary, some of the residents in these areas are reproaching the central Soviet leadership with being too patient and even with having been indecisive.

This can be discussed from various aspects. Had the violation been allowed to get even worse, and the number of victims continued to increase, central government inactivity would not have been justifiable. Actually, until before the establishment of the state of emergency, the fundamentalists received reports on the increasing number of victims of ethnic clashes, including Muslims, without expressing any concern. This is yet more proof of their indifference toward the security and [word indistinct] of Muslims, as well as of their wish to exploit the adversities faced by the Muslims for spiteful political ends.

The fundamentalists exploited the (?exacerbation of the border situation) and did their best to ensure that the discord in Transcaucasia did not die down. It seems that the improvement of the border situation after the establishment of the state of emergency foiled their plans for more extensive intervention in the domestic affairs of a neighboring country.

They are now (?trying) to instigate extremists and secessionists over the radio. But of course the Iranian listeners are the main target of the fundamentalists' anti-Soviet fabrications. (?Efforts are made) to portray Soviet rule as the Muslims' most wretched enemy, and the following allegations are made:

It is said that Mikhail Gorbachev went to the Baltic coast to discuss ethnic problems but that when similar problems emerged in Transcaucasia, armed forces were sent. But after all, there is a fundamental difference in the situations in these two areas. On the Baltic coast it is possible to discuss the most urgent matters in a common human language. But this is not possible in the Transcaucasus, where there are those who are only able to speak the language of arms.

Of course one cannot say that the fundamentalists are the formulators of all of Iran's policy. At any rate, in Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati's recent letter sent to his Soviet counterpart Eduard Shevardnadze, it is emphasized that Iran is firmly pursuing the principle of nonintervention in other countries' domestic affairs. I hope these remarks are not only words.

BBC Comments on Soviet-Iranian Ties Refuted

NC2601171390 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1500 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Report on Yuriy Andreyev commentary from "World Today"—read by announcer]

[Text] Esteemed listeners, the BBC World Service stated last Wednesday that an increasing strain can be detected in relations between Moscow and Tehran. A Radio Moscow commentary on the Islamic Republic of Iran's reaction to events in Soviet Azerbaijan has been cited to bear out the validity of this assertion.

Yuriy Andreyev, one of Radio Moscow's commentators who works in the Persian section and has prepared this commentary, says: One day a former British prime minister was asked about the difference between disaster and misfortune. He replied: There is a big difference. If Gladstone, my opponent in Parliament, were to fall in the Thames, it would be a misfortune. However if someone pulled him out, it would be a real disaster. By drawing an analogy between this joke by the former British prime minister and the current situation, one can say that the BBC's inappropriate assessment of current events is only a misfortune. However, the radio's conclusion that Soviet-Iranian relations have deteriorated to some extent is a real disaster for the BBC.

The irony of events is that when BBC disseminated the report on increased differences between the Soviet Union and Iran, at least two events took place in Moscow which completely rule out such an opinion. One was that Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, the first deputy foreign minister, met Iranian ambassador in Moscow Naser Heyrani- Nowbari, who conveyed Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati's message to Eduard Shevardnadze, his Soviet counterpart. In the course of talks that ensued, the two countries expressed their hope for bilateral ties to be expanded, more than ever before, in the economic, commercial, human, and cultural fields.

Also, that same day, Gennadiy Gerasimov, the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman, declared that the official statements of Iranian leaders indicate an understanding of the Soviet Government's action in Azerbaijan. Thus one can say our colleagues at BBC have been rather hasty in their deductions. However this is not astonishing, as London's dissatisfaction with the Islamic regime in Iran is not hidden from anyone. But that they should also see their own dissatisfaction in the relations between the Soviet Union and Iran is quite meaningless, especially since this is not realistic.

Moscow and Tehran continue their constructive dialogue and talks based on mutual respect and reciprocal benefits. Attempts to prove the contrary are tantamount to spreading political rumors, which in itself is a fruitless task. It is interesting to note that the BBC report reflects the special opinions of a considerable number of Iranian publications regarding the West's efforts to warm its hands over the fires of events in the Caucasus. For example, ETTELA'AT reported recently that specific groups in the West are trying to muddy the waters of relations between the Soviet Union and Iran for their own benefit and to divert public opinion from their own aggressive actions.

BBC has confirmed this statement convincingly. It is necessary to mention that the BBC service reported that Radio Moscow accused Iran of political myopia over the situation in Azerbaijan. Our commentator writes: In my analysis, the Moscow comments concerned remarks in some Iranian newspapers and by independent political figures in Iran, not Iran's official stance. There is a difference between the two, is there not?

Of course the British radio's ultimate ideological objective is absolutely clear. In any case, it would be appropriate if the BBC radio correspondents would recall an old adage and not try to chase a black cat in a dark room, especially when there is no cat in the room.

Shevardnadze, Indian Official Discuss Cooperation

LD2701222390 Moscow TASS in English 2157 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 28 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, political member of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, received Shailendra Kumar Singh, foreign secretary of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs, in the Soviet Foreign Ministry on Saturday.

The Indian diplomat delivered to the Soviet minister a personal message addressed to Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev from Indian Prime Minister Vishwnath Pratap Singh.

Shevardnadze and Singh had a talk during which the Soviet foreign minister emphasised the invariability of the Soviet Union's course towards all-round development and strengthening of cooperation with democratic peace-loving India.

The Indian representative said that the Indian Government is guided by a similar approach with regard to the Soviet Union.

During the discussion of international problems, Shevardnadze informed Singh of the course of Soviet-American talks on reducing strategic offensive arms and of work connected with the idea of convening an all-European summit conference before the end of 1990.

The importance of intensifying efforts towards complete cessation of nuclear tests was specially pointed out. The Indian side expressed understanding of and support for the approaches set out.

Singh, for his part, described the political situation in India, giving special attention to the aggravation of the situation in Jammu and Kashmir.

He pointed to India's concern over Pakistan's policy of supporting the secessionists, its actions to destabilise the situation in the state, and Islamabad's official statements which by no means promote the normalisation of relations between the two countries.

It was emphasised that Pakistan's actions fully contradict the spirit and letter of the Simla agreement under which differences between the sides should be settled by peaceful means.

Singh reaffirmed the determination of the government and people of India to defend sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country.

The Soviet side stated that it condemns foreign interference in any form in the affairs of India.

Singh displayed interest in the processes taking place in the Soviet Union and in particular in the way the situation is taking shape in view of the conflict between Azerbaijan and Armenia.

In answer to a question to this effect Shevardnadze emphasised that the conflict is of long inter-ethnic character and that ethnic, not religious, world-outlook or other problems underlie the conflicts.

Over the past two years the Soviet leadership has been taking most active efforts towards a political resolution of the conflict, restoration of normal good relations between the peoples of the two republics that have long-standing traditions of friendship.

However, when the situation assumed a dramatic character and when an orgy of killings, rampaging and trampling on the elementary norms of law and legality began, tens of thousands of refugees appeared, and armed clashes on an ethnic basis assumed a wide scope, it was decided to use military force to restore law and order, to ensure the safety of people and to uphold the Constitution of the USSR and of these union republics.

"I want to point out once again," Shevardnadze said, "that the introduction of troops was prompted not by some political goals connected with the suppression of dissent, as some circles abroad are trying to present it, but by the sole aim—to end bloodshed and to bring peace and security back to people and to enable the peoples of the two republics to democratically develop and build their future.

"As far as the solution of political problems is concerned, the Soviet leadership—as it has repeatedly stated—is categorically against the use of force. Dialogue is the main instrument in this case."

Matters concerning a settlement of the Afghan and Cambodian situations and the forthcoming Sovet-American meeting in Moscow were also touched upon during the conversation which was held in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

Shevarnadze Condemns Intrusion in Indian Affairs

BK2801160690 Delhi Domestic Service in English 1530 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Text] The Soviet Union has reiterated that Jammu and Kashmir is an integral part of India and condemned outside interference in any form in India's internal affairs. This was stated by the Soviet foreign minister, Mr Eduard Shevardnadze, during a 90-minute meeting with the foreign secretary, Mr S.K. Singh, in Moscow yesterday. Mr Shevardnadze assured Mr Singh of Moscow's firm support for India's determination to defend its sovereignty and territorial integrity. He emphasized that his country's course toward all-round development and strengthening of cooperation with the democratic and peace-loving India is unalterable.

Talking to newsmen today, Mr S.K. Singh said India has taken a serious view of Pakistan's support to secessionists in Jammu and Kashmir and this was shared by the Soviet Union. He said Islamabad's official statements do not in any way promote the normalization of relations between the two countries and their actions contradict the letter and spirit of the Simla Agreement.

Asked by the newsmen whether there was any shift in Moscow's stand on Jammu and Kashmir, the foreign secretary said that the Soviet Union strongly reiterated during the talks that the state is an integral part of India and this will never change. Mr Singh said though his visit was for annual talks, it has assumed greater importance in view of the problem created by Pakistan in Jammu and Kashmir.

Briefing Mr Shevardnadze on the policies and programs of the National Front government and its determination to ensure a friendly neighborhood, Mr Singh said the new government has urged Pakistan to be helpful rather than creating problems.

During his meeting with Mr Shevardnadze, the foreign secretary delivered a personal message from the prime minister, Mr V.P. Singh, to the Soviet president, Mr Mikhail Gorbachev.

Mr S.K. Singh had also met the Soviet deputy foreign minister, Mr Yuliy Vorontsov.

Deputy Vorontsov Confers With Indian Official

LD2701020190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1925 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, 26 January (TASS)—Today at the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, political consultations took place between Yuliy Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister, and Shilendra Kumar Singh, secretary of foreign affairs at the Indian Foreign Ministry, who arrived today in Moscow.

The consultations confirmed the similarities in the approaches of the USSR and India to solving the central task—building of a world free from nuclear weapons and violence, a world where every people, large and small, is guaranteed freedom of choice and respect of that choice by others.

The participants in the consultations welcomed the process, which has already begun, of eliminating situations of conflict and crisis, and the constructive input into this process by the United Nations. They stressed the resolve of their states to actively raise its role as the main instrument of international peace and security.

The USSR and Indian Foreign Minstry spokesman announced the intentions of their states to continue the persistent search for solutions to the Afghan and Cambodian problems, together with all interested parties.

During an examination of bilateral relations, the mutual aspiration to achieve the realization of accords reached in recent years on development and perfecting various forms of cooperation was confirmed.

Indian Foreign Minister on Relations With USSR

LD2501180290 Moscow TASS in English 1722 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Text] New Delhi January 25 TASS—Soviet-Indian friendship and cooperation have always been an important aspect of Indian foreign policy, Indian Foreign Minister Inder Kumar Gujral told TASS.

The time-tested bilateral relations are based on mutual interest and similar views of major international issues. Constantly developing and expanding, the relations have acquired a new quality and dynamism. In this sense Soviet-Indian cooperation is unique, the minister said.

Soviet-Indian relations, which are based on the treaty on peace, friendship and cooperation, are an important factor of peace and stability both in the region and on the globe, the minister stressed. Today their role has increased. The two states have a common view of mankind's future, which was reflected in the New Delhi Declaration on a nuclear free and non-violent world.

Indian foreign policy is based on ideals and principles that helped the people struggle for national liberation and against imperialism, colonialism, racism and other forms of discrimination. India's foreign policy aims to consolidate the Non-Aligned Movement, develop cooperation between young states and deepen Indian collaboration with its neighbours.

The minister stressed that the Indian Government is attentively following changes in the international arena, mankind's gradual transition from conflict and confrontation to dialogue, mutual understanding and peaceful cooperation.

India's major role is to strengthen disarmament processes, based on global peaceful initiatives of India, and to accelerate Soviet- U.S. progress towards the elimination of nuclear weapons. Similar limitations must be put on conventional and chemical arms, he noted.

The Non-Aligned Movement must play a more active role in the expansion of "south-south" cooperation and the easing of tension in various regions.

While consolidating SAARC member-states' regional cooperation, which increases the dynamism of this orgnisations' activities in South Asia, India also attaches much importance to more fully using the United Nations' potential. This is especially important now, when confrontation between the East and the West is disappearing and international cooperation is expanding, the minister stressed.

Afghanistan's Tania on Importance of Soviet Aid

LD2501154190 Moscow TASS in English 1521 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Text] Kabul January 25 TASS—"The Soviet Union's assistance to the Afghan people is of huge importance," Afghanistan's Defence Minister Colonel-General Shahnawaz Tanai told TASS. He was recieving a delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet on an official visit to Afghanistan.

"Afghan soliders and the Afghan people will always remember the exploits of Soviet soldiers in Afghanistan for the sake of the Republic," the minister said.

General Tanai noted that over the year since the Soviet troop withdrawal, Afghan revolutionary forces have been able to use Soviet assistance and have proved their viability and high combat readiness.

Despite the efforts of the Afghan Government to open a peaceful dialogue, the armed opposition has relied on force.

Opposition forces supported by the United States, Pakistan and other countries attempted a number of large-scale operations. They have been rebuffed by the revolutionary forces, the general said.

He added that the opposition forces were rebuffed near Qandahar, Jalalabad and Khowst.

The general said the opposition forces numbered 175,000. Afghan Armed Forces comprise over 150,000 men.

The security belts around Kabul have now been reinforced. The people's militia are assisting the Afghan forces.

The prestige of the forces with the population is growing, Tanai said. Experience indicates that the armed opposition cannot achieve its aims by hostilities.

"We are convinced that the Afghan Armed Forces will successfully protect the April Revolution," the defence minister said.

Deputy Vorontsov Receives Libyan Envoy

PM2601161590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS "Official Announcement"]

[Text] On 23 January USSR First Deputy Foreign Minister Yu.M. Vorontsov received Libyan Secretary of Culture and Information Rajab Abu-Dabbus, who is in Moscow in connection with the talks on the program of cooperation in the sphere of culture and information between the USSR and Libya.

Maghreb Union Still Lacks Economic Base

PM2601120590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent A. Portanskiy dispatch: "Summit Meeting"]

[Text] Tunis—For 3 days the Tunisian capital was the North African region's political capital. It was the venue of a meeting of Arab Maghreb Union [UMA] heads of state. This regional Arab organization comprising Algeria, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, and Tunisia was created last February in the ancient Moroccan city of Marrakesh. King Hasan II of Morocco was UMA chairman until recently, and President Z. Ben Ali of Tunisia will now take over.

Ever since the treaty was signed in Marrakesh, it has been repeatedly emphasized in the Maghreb states' capitals that the proclamation of the UMA was an expression of the Maghreb people's ancient strivings and aspirations associated with a profound cultural and historical community rooted deep in the past.

One of the main obstacles to their unification was for a long time the conflict in Western Sahara, whose acuteness significantly diminished only in the last few years thanks to efforts by the United Nations and the OAU and the restoration of diplomatic relations between Morocco and Algeria.

The 11 months since the first UMA summit meeting in Marrakesh are of course still not long enough to permit an analysis of the organization's activity. It is still at the formative stage. Construction of the UMA edifice, according to the Algerian press, began from the top story downwards. And this is true. The UMA still lacks a real economic base. Intraregional economic exchange accounts for only 1 percent of the total volume of all foreign economic ties of the UMA member states. In other words, trade and economic cooperation with developed countries, primarily with West Europe, still remains a determining factor for each one of the five Maghreb members. This is why the authors of the "Maghreb home" plan—the present leaders of UMA states, who, as said earlier, started building their joint construction project from the top—are facing the complex task of imparting effective impetus to the broad development of most diverse contacts and ties between their countries: trade and economic exchanges and free movement of people, capital, services, and information.

East Europe

Election Campaign in Romania 'in Full Swing'

LD2901000190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 28 Jan 90

[From "Seven Days" newscast; video report from Romania by correspondent S. Zheleznyak—live or recorded]

[Summary] With the election campaign in full swing in Romania, party representatives are still discussing the election law and for the fifth day running in Bucharest, demonstrations continue. [video shows demonstrations] They are being held here in front of the government building. The reason is the decision of the National Salvation Front to put forward their own candidates at the coming elections. Hitherto it was affirmed that the Front was a provisional organization whose main task was to ensure democratic elections. People have been gathering in various districts of the city since this morning. Outside the headquarters of the National Peasant Party here are opponents of the Front.

This party, together with the National Liberal and Social Democratic Party, demanded the resignation of the present leadership of Romania. These parties think democratic elections are impossible if all the levers of power—newspapers, radio and television—are in the hands of the Front. This column is heading for Victory Square. Its mission is to get the government to resign. Look at the banners. One places an equals sign between the National Salvation Front and the RCP [Romanian Communist Party]. Another accuses many members of the Front's council of being former communists. The words socialism and communism are in the minds of many people, especially youth, unbreakably linked with Ceausescu and the bloody times of his rule.

Here in another part of Bucharest are champions of the national Salvation Front, representatives of practically all the main enterprises of the capital. The Front is with us, those gathered chanted. It was the insistent demands of the working people, the Front leaders said, that induced them to take part in the elections. The Front is our power, born of revolution, the speakers say. This power is what defended the country from the terror and in the worst days undertook the leadership of the republic.

While the National Salvation Front was tackling the question of how to defend and feed the people, how to heat the homes under its decree the parties which formed the opposition came into being, it is being said. At noon the column of champions and opponents of the Front met on Victory Square outside the government building.

Unfortunately, Sunday has been a day of confrontation of various political forces, which could not be avoided despite the numerous clarifications by television and radio. It is not confrontation but dialogue and mutual understanding leading to stability that is now needed in the country. Unfortunately, this cannot be seen.

Romania Changes Assembly Law as Parties Form

LD2501232190 Moscow TASS in English 2046 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Text] Bucharest January 25 TASS—In order to hold meetings and rallies in Romania, their organisers must obtain permission from the police 48 hours in advance, says the new decree on public gatherings published here today.

Transgressors will have to spend in prison from 15 to 30 days or pay a fine of 500 to 2,000 lei.

The adoption of this regulatory enactment, according to local commentators, was needed to regulate certain aspects of the country's public life that has radically changed lately.

Eighteen political parties have been registered in Romania since the December revolution, and many of them have begun campaigning for the forthcoming general elections.

Mass rallies and demonstrations have become routine in Budapest an other cities. Some of them are well organised and held in a peaceful atmosphere. Others, like the rally in Viktoria Square on January 12, violate public order, disrupt traffic and are accompanied by acts of vandalism.

The new order envisages punishments for causing behaviour and other transgressions in the course of public actions.

Meetings may be held in specially designated park areas and the headquarters of political parties and public organisations.

New political parties are being formed in Romania. The translation into life of people's aspirations in the economic, social and cultural fields is the principal aim of the Democratic Party of Romania (DPR), member of the provisional National Committee of the newly registered party Viorel Koiceu told journalists here today.

The DPR programme states that the party's main task is to help create a constitutional republic based on political and parliamentary pluralism. The party favors decentralisation of the economy, market relations and a variety of forms of ownership.

Correspondent Reports on Situation in Timisoara

LD2601090490 Moscow NEW TIMES in English 9-15 Jan 90 p7

[Report by Special Correspondent Gennadiy Sysoyev from Timisoara]

[Text] When in Timisoara and other Romanian cities and towns, I asked people what was going on in the country, they all said it was a revolution. There was not the shadow of a doubt that they were absolutely convinced of that. However, it was difficult to make this reply conform to what we had always been told. How could a revolution take place in a socialist country? This meant either that it was not a revolution, or that it was a revolution, but that it was taking place not in a socialist country.

Other questions also arose. What are the authorities going to do? And generally, who are they, these new men in power in Timisoara? I put these questions to the committee of the city's Democratic Front.

I was frisked and escorted by a tommygunner into a room, where I met committee head Fortuna Lorin and his deputy Burlacu Tudorin. The sixty-man committee represents the city's various work collectives and organizations. Political authority is vested with the seven-man leadership, whose social composition is rather broad, thus it includes factory workers, intellectuals and several officers; three are Communist Party members.

Incidentally, the committee has now moved from the Opera House to the mansion of the former district RCP [Romanian Communist Party] committee, which has decamped. I was also told that there is now no Communist Party organization in the city at all, in as much as the population often identify it with the previous Ceausescus big and small. It is hard to say whether the communists will be able to regain credibility. At any rate, the Communist Party will no longer be what it used to be, it was said.

The committee leaders are dog-tired. After all, none were politicians before; thus Fortuna Iorin taught at the local college of technology, while his youthful deputy had been just a college student.

"When do you think the situation will fully revert to normal?"

"It's hard to say. The security men are excellently armed and are well familiar with the city. We think it will take a couple of weeks to completely abolish resistance. Though enterprises are not operating at full capacity yet, sabotage is out of the question. Nor is there any looting." I saw that for myself. When fighting was still going on, one could see smashed shopwindows in the downtown section. However, nobody filched clothes or food, though there is a shortage of both.

"What are your relations with the army like?"

"We are acting in concert. Though the committee exercises authority, the army controls the situation. Today it operates independently, but it does not plan to do so in the future."

What are the main points of your programme?"

"The Committee of the Democratic Front advocates consistent observance of human rights, the release of all political prisoners and open frontiers. We intend to introduce a new economic structure with equality for all types of property ownership. Export will no longer be the overriding purpose, and the state will no longer interfere in economic matters. But we see as our main objective the need to prepare for and hold free, democratic elections next April."

"What are you going to do with the former leaders?"

"All guilty of crimes will be held responsible. But this will not be vengeance, lynching, but a lawful trial. Incidentally, we think the trial of Ceausescu was carried through in too much of a rush. There should have been a broadly publicized political trial, as the guarantee that "Ceausescuism" would never come to Romania again. True, one can well understand the popular hatred of the old regime."

I can also understand popular feelings when the price of freedom was learned. In Timisoara, I was shown photographs of the mass burials that were opened up at popular demand. The dead bodies lie in unnatural poses, as in haste the wounded were also buried with the dead.

I can also understand the virtually unanimous international condemnation of the crimes of the Ceausescu regime. I take this as a gesture of apology to the Romanians.

Talking with people in Timisoara and Arad, I found myself wondering whether they had a really proper notion of what was going to happen. However, they all believe that things are going to be better and I agree as thing could definitely not be worse than they were.

Consulate in Krakow Attacked by 'Hooligans'

LD2901100590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0930 GMT 29 Jan 90

[From "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A report has just come in from Poland: There have been fresh forays by antisocialist forces there. In particular, hooligan youth attacked the USSR's consulate general in Krakow. Many of them were drunk. They used stones to break all the windows on the front section of the building, destroyed a militia sentry box, and tried to force their way into the building.

Committee for Upcoming Polish Congresses Meets

PM2501161190 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Jan 90 First Edition p 3

[TASS report under rubric "In the Countries of East Europe": "Session Held"]

[Text] Warsaw, 22 Jan—The problems of preparing for the 11th Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Congress, planned for 27 January, and the constituent congress of the new Party of Left-Wing Forces were the subject of a congress and constituent congress delegates' coordination group session held here. The session participants were informed about the progress made by the constituent congress commissions on the party's program, statute, resolutions, and other documents, and also by the congress commission on the question of adopting a resolution to terminate PZPR activity. The session adopted the draft regulations and order of work of the congress and constituent congress. Foreign guests will not be invited to them.

Members of the group heard a report by M. Rakowski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, on the sociopolitical situation in the country, which stems, in particular, from the draft law proposed by a group of deputies from the Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group on nationalizing PZPR property and the PZPR press with all its material base. It was stressed during the discussion that there has recently been an intensification of activity directed against the PZPR, which sometimes assumes forms of confrontation dangerous to public order and calm.

Polish Historian Discusses Katyn Tragedy

PM2501143990 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 20 Jan 1990

[Report on interview with Polish historian Krystyna Kersten, by V. Shutkevich, own correspondent in Warsaw: "The Katyn Forest Is Silent"]

[Shutkevich] Pani Krystyna, you first visited Katyn last summer. Many of our readers have to this day never heard the name of this tiny village buried deep inside the Smolensk forests. It is no wonder that, in our country, it is often confused with the Belorussian Khatyn. This is even more paradoxical, seeing that people in Poland, old and young alike, know about Katyn. What does Katyn mean for Poles? What made you personally go there?

[Kersten] Briefly speaking, that is the site of the tragic death of more than 4,000 Polish officers who ended up in internment camps on the Soviet Union's territory in the fall of 1939 and were shot in the Katyn forest. A symbolic monument in the shape of a pine cross has now been erected at the site of their execution. Very few people in Poland today doubt that this crime was committed by NKVD [People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs] staffers. The Soviet side has not yet admitted this fact, even though it has not convincingly refuted it. Katyn thus remains one of the most dramatic pages in our modern history, and the truth about these pages is now coming to light with great difficulty. Hence my interest in it as scientist."

Kersten then says that her father was also shot and buried in Katyn and goes on to describe her visit there. Shutkevich's next question and Kersten's answer cover the circumstances of her father's detention and death, the wartime announcement of the Katyn massacre, the reaction by the Polish government in exile, and the postwar study of events by a Soviet commission under Academician Burdenko. Shutkevich's next question is about the latest developments and the Soviet-Polish commission set up 2 years ago to investigate the Katyn events, and Kersten speaks of various controversial issues concerning proof of NKVD involvement.

[Shutkevich] Let us leave all these arguments to historians and let us try to appraise the situation from a position of common sense. It is well known that Poland's modern history abounds with dramas that are far more terrible than the Katyn shooting. You only have to recall Auschwitz and the razing of the Warsaw ghetto. Why is so much importance attached to Katyn nowadays? The same question arises when it is compared with Kuropaty and other crimes by Stalin's regime which have come to light in the last few years....

[Kersten] I think that, even in the conditions of Stalin's most widespread terror, such a mass extermination of citizens of a neighboring state was a crime without equal. Let me remind readers that a large number of reserve officers—professors, engineers, and physicians—were in the interment camps in addition to members of the professional military. In other words, people belonging to Poland's intellectual elite....

"But Katyn's importance does not end there. As far as postwar generations of Poles are concerned, Katyn has become not so much an embodiment of injuries caused by the Soviet Union as a symbol of trampled historical truth. This truth was concealed for more than 40 years, it was distorted and suppressed, or at best simply passed over in silence.

"Until recently children in Polish schools were told nothing about the Katyn tragedy. When questioned by students, university lecturers often replied that the circumstances surrounding it remained unclear. Books and leaflets published in the West on this subject found their way into the country with difficulty, while the Polish press was not allowed to write about it. And when an opportunity finally emerged, the truth surfaced with a force which was in proportion to the years-long suppression.

"Poles demand the restoration of the truth's civic rights. I have repeatedly come up against this when delivering public lectures on Poland's modern history. Yes, the audience would tell me, the fascists committed atrocities in our country which can be neither forgotten nor forgiven. But all mankind knows about them today and the main culprits stood trial a long time ago. So, in view of this, why is it that numerous crimes by Stalinism still remain in the shadows? Don't they deserve identical condemnation? Until this is done, Katyn will remain an open and bleeding wound in our minds."

[Shutkevich] Let us assume that this will happen sooner or later. But is it not likely than an admission of the NKVD's involvement in the Katyn tragedy would produce a fresh outburst of anti-Soviet feelings in Poland? Furthermore, some of our compatriots fear that the Poles would demand from the Soviet Union material compensation for the families of Polish officers shot in Katyn. What is your attitude toward this?

[Kersten] I am firmly against any form of material compensation. Moreover, the very idea of accepting money for my father's blood and death seems a sacrilege to me. The memory of the Katyn victims must not become an object of barter. And even if the Soviet Government were to propose paying such compensation, I think that our government ought to decline this offer. But, let me repeat this, I am speaking only for myself. There may be other views.

"Katyn has become a symbol for us and, in my view, this problem should be solved symbolically rather than materially. Let me emphasize this again: As far as Poles are concerned, there is no problem in clarifying the truth about Katyn. We have known this truth for a long time. The Poles expect it to be officially admitted by the Soviet authorities, essentially as a gesture of goodwill. Evil must be publicly identified as such. This is necessary not only for my own compatriots but also for citizens of your country and for all of mankind.

"I am convinced that the truth about Katyn, when proclaimed for everyone to hear, cannot be a cause of intensifying anti-Soviet feelings in Poland. Lies alone can cause feuds among peoples and give rise to mistrust and suspicion. The opposite is also true: The memory of shared tragedy brings us all closer together and makes us better and more human. I was convinced of this when I visited my father's grave.

"While in Kozielsko and Katyn, I constantly felt a sensation of a miracle occurring before our very eyes. Our actual presence in these places was a miracle, the revival of your people's faith and historical memory, which we witnessed, was a miracle. We visited the restored 18th century chapel and talked to the young people working on the monastery's restoration. But I was especially touched when a middle-aged man, who was given a 'Solidarity' badge as a present, caught up with us on the road and gave us a small picture of Our Lady. From Katyn. For memory's sake...."

Statement on Czechoslovak-Israeli Ties Cited

PM2501151990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Unattributed report under rubric "TASS, REUTER, UPI Report": "Restoring Relations With Israel"]

[Text] A statement by the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee has been released here which says in part: The restoration of Czechoslovak-Israeli diplomatic relations would be beneficial to both countries and would help improve the international situation. This does not mean that the CPCZ agrees with the policy of aggression and expansion pursued by the present ruling circles in Israel.

Hungary's Thurmer on Anti-Left 'Campaign'

PM2501154990 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Jan 90 First Edition p 3

[TASS report under rubric "In the Countries of East Europe": "Speech by Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Chairman"]

[Text] Budapest, 22 Jan—Dissociating itself from the mistakes of the past and working to preserve socialist values, the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP], which is in the process of renewal, can find its place during the forthcoming Hungarian parliamentary elections, despite all the difficulties. These words were spoken by G. Thurmer, MSZMP chairman, at an election rally in the city of Bekescsaba.

He rejected statements that the country is in its present difficult position as a result of socialism. The leader of the MSZMP pointed out that it was precisely socialism that was lacking at those moments when bureaucracy was flourishing in the country, when the party gave the wrong answers to those questions raised by life, and when communists were unable to find appropriate leaders. Whoever talks about a crisis of socialism is seriously mistaken.

Contrary to the opposition's expectations, G. Thurmer continued, the new MSZMP has not become an extremist, ultraradical party. This explains why the Hungarian press is failing to print the MSZMP's opinions. Our party cannot reconcile itself to the fact that an open campaign against communists and left-wing forces is now being waged in Hungary.

Shift of Emphasis in Hungary's Trade Noted

PM2501160790 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jan 90 p 3

[Own correspondent A. Kaverznev dispatch: "One Step East, Two Steps West"]

[Text] Budapest—I cannot remember when two top Western leaders in succession visited Hungary—in this case Japanese Prime Minister T. Kaifu and French President F. Mitterrand. There is a lot in common in the visits which have taken place. The Western leaders aimed to give moral and political support to the democratization processes in Hungary.

Acting Hungarian President M. Szuros supported Mitterrand's idea on the creation of a European confederation. Hungary is ready to be included in the practical implementation of this idea, which completely accords with the country's natural desire for closer all-European integration. Of course, moral and political support is necessary, but Hungary very much needs economic aid. The country's foreign debt has reached $20 billion. This year alone it will have to spend about $3 billion to pay off interest and old credits, despite the fact that at best half a billion dollars can be expected from foreign trade revenue. So where can the remaining funds be found? Where can the money be found for the modernization and the structural perestroyka of the economy? In other words, from what sources can the reform be financed?

The West has calculated precisely at what moment to give aid to the East European countries. It is naive to think that it is proceeding only from an innate adherence to democratic ideas. The Western states are pursuing their own quite specific aims, although, of course, the loans promised by the Japanese and French leaders are very timely. The Japanese premier offered $500 million, the French president, $350 million. Moreover, last year France granted $52 million, and it will set up a fund amounting to $8.7 million to support small and medium businessmen.

In car production Hungary was once counting greatly on cooperation with the USSR, Hungary [as published], and Bulgaria. This would have made it possible to substantially reduce the shortage of them in the country. These hopes have not been realized. In place of the Soviet partner, a Japanese partner came along offering more advantageous conditions and incomparably more modern machinery. We were justly proud that with the common efforts of the socialist countries, we constructed the Paks nuclear power station in Hungary. The nuclear power station is ecologically very clean and operates very efficiently. Talks have begun in the Soviet Union on the construction in Paks of two more major power units. And although the Hungarian side has not rejected their construction, a protocol has been signed with a French firm on plans to build two more power units on highly advantageous terms for Hungary.

We ourselves are experiencing an economic crisis, and so we are obliged to relinquish to Western competitors one after another, even those spheres of the Hungarian market where we were traditionally strong. French, West German and Japanese firms are filling the vacuum instantly. Our enforced withdrawal is taking place in the context of an increasing disproportion in Soviet-Hungarian trade. Last week Hungary's trade minister made arrangements to suspend the issuing of permits for the export of commodities to countries which settle in rubles. Last year, Hungary's trade surplus with them exceeded R1 billion. In the first half of January it jumped by another R250 million, with the Soviet Union accounting for more than half the total. Hungary is no longer capable of enduring this imbalance. Measures adopted earlier have not produced any tangible results, so it was necessary to curb exports.

I would not like to draw unequivocal conclusions that Hungary is gradually turning away from trade with the Soviet Union and reorienting itself toward the West. This is not so, or more accurately, this is not at all the case. Hungary is our neighbor, and it will always be advantageous for it to trade with the USSR. Even if we sell it raw materials and energy sources for convertible currency at world prices this will be to Hungary's advantage on account of the minimal transportation costs.

Hungary Curbs Ruble-Earning Exports to USSR

PM2501134790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
20 Jan 90 Second Edition p 7

[Own correspondent V. Gerasimov dispatch: "Export Quotas?"]

[Text] Budapest, 19 Jan—Imre Dunai, state secretary at the Hungarian Republic's Trade Ministry, has declared that as of 25 January new restrictions are being imposed on "ruble" exports of Hungarian goods. Export licenses will be determined according to each quarter's results, depending on the partners' fulfillment of protocols on reciprocal deliveries.

What has occasioned the erection of a "barrier"? Over the past 2 years, the value of Soviet exports to Hungary has fallen from R4.6 billion to R4.1 billion. The actual balance of payments is in Hungary's favor to the tune of R776 million, as I. Dunai told journalists.

The question of the unbalanced nature of Soviet-Hungarian trade arose acutely back in the middle of last year. The Soviet debit has increased considerably with regard to tourism: Some 4 million Soviet citizens have visited Hungary, exhausting all the forint exchange funds. In order to slow down the negative processes, the Hungarian side has increased the rate of exchange for the forint against the ruble, prohibited deliveries with payment in advance, and demanded linkages between exports and imports. An exchange has been set up for rubles earned by enterprises over and above the plan. At the exchange the rate for the ruble is below the official rate. The national bank does not reimburse rubles obtained over and above protocols. Squeezed by this economic vise, a number of enterprises have ceased deliveries of slaughtered poultry, canned meat, and other commodities.

The imbalance could lead to the closure of enterprises geared to exports to the USSR, which will cause unemployment.

"If things go this way, 100,000 jobs will be jeopardized," I. Dunai declared.

It is necessary to switch to transactions in freely convertible currency; this is what both Soviet and Hungarian specialists believe. But since raw materials make up 70 percent of the USSR's deliveries to Hungary, it will turn out that, when converted to world prices, Hungary will owe us $1.5-1.8 billion over the course of a year. Specialists of the two countries are seeking acceptable ways out of the crisis. But, for the time being, a "barrier" has been erected in the way of Hungarian exports to the USSR.

Pre-Congress Debate in Bulgaria Intensifying

PM2601094590 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 23 Jan 90 Second Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Debate Intensifying"]

[Text] As the extraordinary 14th Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Congress draws near, an increasingly heated debate is raging in party organizations concerning the direction in which the perestroyka of the party should move, and the role the latter must play in society.

The precongress documents published a few days ago for discussion—the BCP draft statutes and political declaration—have shown that it is a question of the deep, radical renewal of the party, which will celebrate its centenary in 1991. RABOTNICHESKO DELO has published detailed accounts of the political platforms of three groupings operating within the BCP. Each document has its own nuances and peculiarities. For example, the only group which has declared itself to be a faction—the Alternative Socialist Association [ASA]—emphasizes the need to implement the "debolshevization" of the BCP. The ASA proposes giving the party a new name—the Bulgarian Socialist Party. The striking feature of the platform "The Bulgarian Path to Europe" is the appeal for Bulgaria "to become a European country." In the opinion of its supporters, "socialism is not a type of social structure but a process, a tendency in the development of mankind, and primarily of Europe." The movement for democratic socialism calls, in particular, for the introduction of presidential rule in Bulgaria.

Bulgaria's Todor Zhivkov Arrest Reported

PM2601100190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jan 90 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "T. Zhivkov Under Arrest"]

[Text] Sofia, 22 Jan—In accordance with the measure chosen by Bulgaria's chief prosecutor's office—detention in custody—since 19 January T. Zhivkov, former general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the Bulgarian State Council, has been under arrest at a "specially equipped establishment." This information was given by Bulgarian television. The report was made on instructions from the Bulgarian internal affairs minister in connection with rumors which had been spread to the effect that the country's former leader was living peacefully at his village in the Sofia suburb of Boyana.

As has already been reported the prosecutor's office has begun initial investigations into the case of T. Zhivkov, accused of kindling national enmity and hatred, of illegally acquiring public property on particularly large scales, and of perpetrating particularly grave abuses of his official position.

In the near future the commission which has been created will publish the materials from the investigation into instances of gross violations of laws by the country's former leader and members of his family and immediate entourage. The question is also being studied of the existence abroad of hard currency accounts and real estate belonging to T. Zhivkov and his family.

Perez de Cuellar Visit to Albania Mooted

PM2601092990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Reprint of REUTER report: "No Definite Date for Visit"]

[Text] Javier Perez de Cuellar, UN secretary general, has in principle accepted an invitation to visit Albania, although a date for the visit has not been set, a UN spokesman said. Contrary to a statement carried by the Albanian Telegraph Agency, there is also no confirmation that this visit will take place in May this year.

No UN secretary general has ever been to Albania in the entire history of its existence.

Albania has rejected reports by the Yugoslav and Greek mass media that there have been riots in the city of Shkoder, in the north of the country, and that security measures have been tightened up in Tirana.

GDR Reportage on Silayev Visit

WA2901195390

For German Democratic Republic reportage on the visit by Ivan Silayev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, to the GDR, including reports on his economic cooperation talks with GDR leaders, please see the GDR section of the 25 January and subsequent issues of the East Europe DAILY REPORT.

Supreme Soviet

Deputies Urge Supreme Soviet on Trancaucasus

LD2601173390 Moscow TASS in English 1720 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 26 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

At a news conference today, spokesmen for the inter-regional group of USSR people's deputies called on the country's leadership to urgently convene a third session of parliament to discuss the situation in Transcaucasia.

The inter-regional group was formed last summer shortly after the First Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

The inter-regional group's statement evaluating the current situation in Transcaucasia was read out at the news conference, at which about 30 Soviet and foreign correspondents were present.

Yuriy Afanasyev, co-chairman of the inter-regional group, maintained that the decision to introduce a state of emergency in the region was taken without specifying the exact aims of the introduction of troops or the period for which they were sent.

A parliamentary session, which should be convened immediately, should take into account proposals by all political forces of Transcaucasia with a view to settling the conflict, Afanasyev believes.

Deputy Anatoliy Sobchak (Leningrad) expressed concern over the fact that at this moment, which is critical for the country, the top state power body found itself outside the framework of decisionmaking.

Since legislation has not specified measures that make up the state-of-emergency notion, abuses are possible, the deputy believes.

"We are concerned most of all over the fact that the real masterminds of the rampaging are at large and that the threat of attacks on civilians has not disappeared," Sobchak said.

The inter-regional group's statement proposes that a national reconciliation council be set up with representatives of all ethnic movements of Soviet republics participating.

In cooperation with the Supreme Soviet, such a council could expedite the process of elaborating a reconciliation formula acceptable to all the sides, said deputy Sergey Stankevich (Moscow).

In that case, decisions would be taken not only at the top level and a way out of the situation could be found much earlier, he believes.

Upcoming Supreme Soviet Session Previewed

LD2601214790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Excerpt] A news conference was held today in connection with the forthcoming third session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Our correspondent Lyudmila Semina is in the studio. What would you like to tell us about first of all?

[Semina] About the usefulness of the information—and the specific things that we learned and heard in answers today—and about the availability of information in general to the deputies, journalists, and people. Correspondents and representatives of the committees and commissions of the Supreme Soviet today gathered at the press center, which is headed by Arkadiy Maslennikov.

We spoke about how to proceed further, about grievances.

First, I will tell about the forthcoming session. It will open on 14 February and last for almost 2 and ½ months. There are about 40 questions on the preliminary agenda. It is possible to single out three main groups of questions: draft laws on economic reform, constitutional and legal issues, and social issues, including pensions.

And now about information and the availability of information. The deputies are absolutely right when they insist that we should speak about the work of the committees and commissions in detail, as the most significant and thorough discussion of the draft laws is taking place there. The committees and commissions have been working since 8 January. They are working for 12-15 hours a day. The commission on planning, budget and finance is prepared to meet journalists next Thursday. The discussion will be about taxation. This law touches upon all of us, and the members of the commission want us to tell the people about their suggestions in as much detail as possible.

We were interested whether there would be a relay this time, whether we are going to broadcast the proceedings. The issue has not been decided. The deputies will decide. On the whole, deputies' attitude to journalists' activities is most respectful, but there were entirely justified grievances. [passage omitted]

Transcaucasus Situation

Azerbaijan Popular Front's Mamedov Imprisoned

NC2601200090 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1815 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Unscheduled announcement—read by announcer]

[Text] Itibar Mamedov, who is one of the leaders of the National Defense Committee of the Popular Front of Azerbaijan, was imprisoned as a result of a search carried out in Moscow by the USSR Committee for State

Security and the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs on 26 January. Itibar Mamedov incited nationalist (?passions) by his activities. Furthermore, he (?engaged in activities) which strained interethnic relations and caused deaths in January. He must account for his actions.

Meanwhile, Nariman Kafali, one of the members of the national liberation organization, was arrested in Baku for similar activities.

(?Selim) Gadzhiyev, one of the (?members) of the national liberation organization, was also arrested [words indistinct] in Baku on 25 January.

An investigation is being carried out.

Attack on Azerbaijani Mission in Moscow Reported

LD2601124690 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1157 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, 26 Jan (TASS)—TASS special correspondent reports:

During the night, an attack was carried out on the Azerbaijani permanent mission in Moscow. Traces of the break-in remain: The entrance doors are broken down, the floor is strewn with broken glass and pieces of plaster. Office doors had been thrown open and there were signs of a break-in on them.

Zukhrab Shamkhalov, a spokesman of the People's Front of this Transcaucasian republic, reported at a press conference in the Azerbaijani permanent mission today that at approximately 2330 [local time] and later about 0230, a group of 12-15 people in bullet-proof vests and helmets, armed with submachine guns, broke into the permanent mission building in the center of Moscow. Another 8-10 people in civilian clothes were with them. Without presenting any documents, the armed people broke down the door with rifle-butts and entered the building. They herded everyone in the mission into one room and at the same time carried out a search of the mission building.

"We felt we were hostages", Larisa Letuchaya, people's deputy of the Azerbaijani Supreme Soviet, who was in the mission building that night, said at the press conference. Participants in the press conference reported that, after the first incident at about 2300 Moscow time, a mission spokesman telephoned the duty services of the KGB and the USSR Interior Ministry.

It was confirmed by those who attended the press conference that a KGB investigation group soon arrived, examined the building and made a report. After the group had left, at about 0230, a second attack was carried out. According to the participants in the press conference, some men in the mission were seized, bundled into a bus and, according to their information, sent to an isolation cell, only to be released after a while. Etibar Mamedov, a member of the PFA [People's Front of Azerbaijan] leadership, who was in the mission, was also seized. According to the participants in the press conference, Etibar Mamedov's whereabouts are at present unknown.

'Soldiers' Raid Building

LD2601123290 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Armed men in military uniform twice broke into the building of Azerbaijan's mission in Moscow yesterday at dawn. The soldiers, who were armed with revolvers and machineguns broke down the doors and turned the building upside down, but later provided no explanation for their action. The soldiers did not use their weapons, the officer on duty at the building said.

Investigation Being Carried Out

LD2601132990 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1250 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] [No dateline as received] Confirming the incident at the Azerbaijan permanent mission in Moscow, Lev Belyanskiy, deputy chief of the militia Main Administration in the capital, said that "an investigation into this incident is now being carried out. In the interests of the investigation no additional information will be provided until it is completed. An official announcement will be made about the results of the investigation."

Reportage on Talks To End Ethnic Conflicts

Representatives Seek Talks

LD2601154790 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1357 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] January 26 (TANJUG)—Official Azerbaijani and Armenian representatives in Moscow on Friday favoured talks to end the current ethnic conflict between the two Soviet Transcaucasian republics.

Deputy head of Azerbaijan's permanent mission with the Soviet Government Zaur Rustam-Zade felt that it would be good to find a mediator in the talks, while Armenia's permanent representative Eduard Aykazyan thought that it would be best to have direct talks.

They made the statements in their conversations with journalists which also included widely differing assessments of the causes of the present state of relations between the two republics.

Azerbaijani representative Rustam-Zade attributed the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh to Armenian territorial amibitions, (?adding) that the "noncommitment of the center (central authorities) has also contributed much to the problem."

Armenian represenative Aykazyan considered it normal that the people of Nagorno-Karabakh should want to join Armenia and live with their own people. He said that the region should probably be placed under central administration in order "to obtain some breathing-space."

Aykazyan pointed to the problem of refugees and the tendency on both sides to arm themselves, and said that it had therefore been correct to impose the state of emergency. If the need be, he added, the imposition of a state of emergency in Armenia could only help.

The Armenian representative said that about 250,000 Armenians had so far fled from Azerbaijan to Armenia alone.

The Azerbaijani representative also spoke of the problem of refugees and said that about 200,000 Azerbaijanis had been expelled from Armenia, and that there was not a single Azerbaijani there now.

Officials To Meet 27 Jan

LD2701130690 Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Excerpts] The leaders of Armenia's nationalist movement and those of the Nakhichevan Popular Front are to meet today to search for the ways to disengage their units of militants and remove them at a safe distance from the border. [passage omitted]

On Friday spokesmen for the Interregional Group of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies held a press conference in Moscow on the situation in the Transcaucasus. They urged the central government to convene a parliamentary session without delay to discuss the state of affairs that area.

Talks Postponed

LD2701180390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1557 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, Jan 27 (TANJUG)—The talks between the Popular Front of Azerbaijan and the Armenian National Movement were postponed for some ten or so days, it was reported in the central Azerbaijani representation in Moscow.

The negotiations between the two popular fronts were supposed to begin on Monday in Riga, the capital of Latvia, whose Popular Front accepted the role of mediator.

It was explained that the negotiations were postponed because it was difficult at the moment for the Azerbaijani representatives to leave Baku for Riga, which is 4,000 kilometers away, and because Armenians believe their stand that Nagorno-Karabakh be attached to Armenia should also discussed.

Talks on Lifting Blockade Viewed

NC2701151490 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1300 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Report by Gevorg Nazaryan]

[Excerpts] Representatives of our republic left for Yeraskh today to meet representatives of the Nakhichevan Popular Front. One of the issues on which the sides must come to an agreement is the lifting of the blockade. This problem has been raised before the union bodies on many occasions, but it has not received the necessary attention. [passage omitted criticizing the practice of blockade and listing the effects the blockade has had on the economy]

What would the Azerbaijanis do if other peoples of the union organized a blockade of Azerbaijan? They must understand this and realize that the patience of others has its limits, as the move against Nakhichevan showed. In Nakhichevan the Azerbaijanis resorted to barbarism; they destroyed the state border, committed murders and atrocities, fired on Soviet soldiers, etc. What is more (?troubling) is that not only did they show their true face, but they also (?damaged) the international prestige of the Soviet Union. This is why, the Soviet Union has started, albeit belatedly, taking concrete measures as reported by the central press and news agencies. Negotiations are under way on lifting the blockade. Will our republic's representatives succeed in this or will the Nakhichevanian bandits again resort to premeditated acts?

Azeris Offer Exchange

AU2701193890 Paris AFP in English 1902 GMT 7 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Moscow, Jan 27 (AFP)—The Azerbaijan Popular Front offered Saturday to open negotiations with Moscow in exchange for the lifting of the state of emergency in the republic's capital Baku, a nationalist spokesman said.

Negotiations between the nationalists and the Soviet authorities could start as soon as the troops were withdrawn, according to Popular Front member Yusef Samedoglu, contacted by telephone.

The Popular Front would ensure the maintenance of order at Baku, Mr. Samedoglu said.

The text of the nationalist proposal was drawn up at a Popular Front council meeting on Friday, he said. [passage omitted]

No 'Speedy' Settlement Seen

AU2701171590 Paris AFP in English 1645 GMT 27 Jan 90

[By Michel Moutot]

[Excerpt] Yerevan, Soviet Union, Jan 27 (AFP)—Armenian and Azeri representatives held talks Saturday at Eraskhavan but no sign of a speedy overall settlement of their territorial dispute was in sight, Armenian sources said here.

Four representatives of the Armenian National Movement and four from the Nakhichevan Popular Front met for an hour in Eraskhavan, on the frontier of Armenia and the Azerbaijani enclave of Nakhichevan, the sources said. The talks were presided over by General Mikhail Surkov, political officer for the Armenian military sector, the Armenian nationalist sources said.

Similar discussions Thursday reached an agreement in principle on the withdrawal of nationalist militias of both sides from the frontier between Armenia and the autonomous republic of Nakhichevan. Details of the withdrawal were still to be worked out, a spokesman for the Armenian National Movement said Saturday.

The two sides also agreed to reopen the rail link between Nakhichevan and the republic of Azerbaijan across a band of Armenian territory, according to a recording of Thursday's meeting obtained by AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE. However an Armenian spokesman said he expected "nothing concrete" to come from the agreement. "It is not the first time the Azeris have said they will lift their blockade (of Armenia). We know they won't do anything," he said.

The ceasefire between rival militias reached Thursday and guaranteed by the Soviet Army was holding along the Armenia-Nakhichevan frontier, Armenian sources said. They expected the fine detail of a withdrawal of forces to take several days to work out.

Saturday's talks also covered the issue of hostages, with the Armenians admitting that they held four Azeris and the Azeris saying they held just one hostage, an Armenian wounded during fighting and held at the hospital in the town of Nakhichevan. General Surkov said he would visit the hospital on Sunday, accompanied by an army doctor, and try to bring the wounded man back to Armenia.

The Azeris denied Armenian accusations that they held two other hostages. [passage omitted]

Border Talks, Agreements Noted

LD2701183290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] All armed detachments of the Armenian National Movement [ANM] and the Nakhijevan National Front [NNF] are to be withdrawn from the border of Armenia and the Nakhijevan Republic before 0700 Moscow time [0400 GMT] on 28 January. This agreement was reached today between leaders of the ANM and NNF informal organizations during talks held at the Eraskh border settlement.

In accordance with the agreement, the armed detachments of the informal organizations are to cease their activities, while ANM and NNF can have only unarmed patrols of up to 10 men on the roads. Interior troops and the Soviet Army will ensure safety at the border.

Participating in the talks were Major General Surkov, USSR people's deputy and head of the Political Department of the Yerevan garrison; Dubin, head of internal troop flying squads; Dayan, deputy chairman of the Armenian Council of Ministers; secretaries of the party rayon committees of Araratskiy rayon, Armenia, and of Ilyichevskiy rayon, Nakhijevan; managers of the two republics' railways; and representatives of Soviet organs.

The participants in the talks agreed on the need for the railways to resume work on the Yeraskh - Dzhulfa Megri - Korchevan sector. They agreed that with the cooperation of drivers, and a guarantee for their security by the forces of the internal troops and the Soviet Army, the railway can resume operations as of today.

During the talks an action group of representatives of the NNF the Army, and managers of the railways, was formed and it left immediately for talks with drivers.

An agreement was reached that immediately after the railways resumed work, talks would be held on the quickest possible opening of highways.

The talks again discussed the question of the fate of those who disappeared during the conflict in the region, citizens of both Armenian and Azerbaijani nationality. So far the fate of only one Armenian is known: He is in a hospital in the town of Nakhijevan. Both sides agreed to start a search for other citizens.

Nakhichevan 'Now Quiet'

LD2601185490 Moscow TASS in English 1827 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Nakhichevan January 26 AZERINFORM-TASS—Azerbaijan's Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic bordering Armenia is now quiet after fierce ethnic clashes during the past ten days.

The Armenian National Movement and the Nakhichevan Popular Front reached a cease-fire agreement on Thursday.

The two informal groups will continue their dialogue. They are planning to discuss the situation in the region and find a way out of the critical situation.

The situation on the state border between the USSR and Iran is being stabilised. The border is being safely guarded by frontier units.

No border violations have been recorded since the introduction of the state of emergency, said local television and radio, which are operating in close contact with party, local government and law- enforcement bodies to promptly inform the population about developments.

The republican SHARG GAPYSY newspaper has still not appeared due to the continuing strike of local publishing house employees.

Sakina Aliyeva, president of the Presidium of the Nakhichevan Supreme Soviet, told AZERINFORM correspondent Mirza Askerov that the railway had not operated since January 12 due to a blockade in Armenia's Megri district

The blockade is having an effect on the work of industrial enterprises in the autonomous republic. Measures are being taken to lift the blockade.

Withdrawal From Border Agreed

LD2701171190 Moscow TASS in English 1645 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] Yerevan January 27 TASS—By TASS special correspondent Sergey Petukhov:

All armed detachments of the Armenian National Movement (ANM) and the Nakhijevan National Front (NNF) are to be withdrawn from the border of Armenia and the Nakhijevan Republic before 7:00 Moscow time on January 28. This agreement was reached today between leaders of the ANM and NNF informal organisations during talks held at the Eraskh border settlement.

In accordance with the agreement the armed detachments of the informal organisations are to cease their activities, while ANM and NNF can have only unarmed patrols of up to 10 men on the roads. Interior troops and the Soviet Army will ensure safety at the border.

Taking part in the talks were Major General Mikhail Surkov, head of the Political Directorate of the Yerevan Garrison, representatives of party and government bodies of the two regions.

The participants in the talks agreed on the need to resume railway traffic on the Eraskh-Dzhulfa-Megri-Korchevan section. It was agreed that immediately after this, talks will be held on the earliest opening of motor ways.

Both sides have agreed to step up efforts in a search for Armenians and Azerbaijanis who went missing during the conflict in this region.

Azerbaijan Front Takes Over Lenkoran Leadership

LD2601185190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1630 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Report from Baku by correspondent Islam Kuliyev]

[Excerpts] Baku is in mourning. Today, according to our tradition, we are marking the 7th day anniversary of those who died in the exchanges of fire. In Nagornyy Park today another three people were buried and a funeral meeting was held. Shaykh ul-Islam Allashukun Pashezade of the Trancaucasus, and other representatives of the clergy, people's deputies, and members of the People's Front of Azerbaijan spoke before tens of thousands of Baku inhabitants. They called upon the people, during these days of difficulty for the republic, these days of trial, to show common sense, tolerance, not to let emotions get the better of them, and to start working. Today, limited transport services are back in operation. Some local newspapers have appeared in small numbers. So far, only the radio remains the generally accessible source of information. It is still transmitting funeral music and speeches of members of the intelligentsia, different representatives of the working people, and people's deputies. [passage omitted]

The situation in other regions of Azerbaijan is still tense. It has not been possible to obtain any accurate information about the situation in the Nakhichevan ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic]. The only thing I know is that in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, a banner of the Azerbaijani SSR has been hoisted above the oblast executive committee building. This was reported at a press conference at the republic's Communist Party Central Committee.

Today, the first report has come in from Lenkoran. It says that the leadership of the town of Lenkoran is being taken over by the local branch of the Azerbaijani People's Front. It is publishing its own newspaper entitled GOLOS NARODA [the voice of the people]

The local television studios and radio station which are transmitting programs without interruption are also under the control of the Azerbaijani People's Front. However, the speeches by the speakers fail to put forward any constructive proposals. The situation remains complex. Monuments to Lenin, Kirov, Tereshkova, and Ulyantsev have been destroyed in the town. Registration documents of all communists have been seized in the records department of the city party committee.

At the same time, there have not been any incidents or casualties. In the neighboring Astarinskiy and Lerik Rayons, the party and local soviet bodies are operating normally. In two mosques the funeral services remembering those who fell victim in Baku on 19-20 January are continuing. A session of the rayon and city soviet of people's deputies has been scheduled for today. This is the information on the situation in Azerbaijan.

Tension in Border Area 'Substantially Subsided'

NC2701143390 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1300 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] Tension in the regions of our republic which border on Azerbaijan has substantially subsided thanks to the latest measures to stabilize the situation in the Transcaucasia. As a result of the combined efforts of party, soviet, and law enforcement bodies and public organizations and associations, the situation has been brought under control. Nevertheless, an occasional undesirable incident continues to take place. For example, Azerbaijani raiders yesterday fired on a border village in (?Karadakh) region and wounded three persons. The situation is also tense in the border settlements of Noyemberyanskiy and Idzhevan Rayons. However, the defense teams of our compatriots and the troops of the Internal Affairs Ministry are effectively defending the inviolability of the borders and the security of the population everywhere. The necessary medical aid is being given to the citizens and servicemen wounded during incidents provoked by the Azerbaijani raiders.

Regular aircraft and helicopter flights from Yerevan to the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] have resumed. The pilots are carrying foodstuffs, clothing, footwear, and other vital material from Armenia to the people of Artsakh [NKAO] who are under blockade. Foodstuffs and clothing sent by the workers of the Bogdanonskiy Rayon of Georgia to the people of Artsakh were also delivered.

The necessary measures are being taken to resume railway communication and to normalize the operations of the gas turbine at Kazakh.

Intensive and productive work is under way to receive, assist, and settle the citizens who were forcibly uprooted from Baku. Advanced students at the law faculty of Yerevan University, in cooperation with representatives of the USSR Procuracy, have so far questioned nearly 2,000 refugees so that criminal proceedings can be instituted. The republic's procuracy has already instituted more than 90 criminal proceedings in connection with the atrocities committed against the Armenian population in Baku.

Nakhichevan Border Conflict Deplored

*90US0403A Moscow GUDOK in Russian
13 Jan 90 pp 1, 4*

[Article by A. Rostovtsev, GUDOK special correspondent: "They Could Have Solved Problem Sooner"]

[Text] There were tears in the eyes of these people. They waved to each other for the last time and they began to leave. Night fell on the Soviet-Iranian border....

I left this meeting with representatives of both sides with a miserable feeling. When the vehicle headed up the mountain, I looked back once more. To the right was a dam with two electric power stations that united both shores of the Araks River—the Soviet and the Iranian. Farther ahead was a huge reservoir that provided water to each electric power station. And farther to the left, and below, was a bridge, which also united both countries. It is about 50 meters long, but only our Soviet half is whole. Only the floor remained on the Iranian half. There is a file of border guards at the entrance from our side, and there are four gendarmes on the Iranian side. And there are many, many people. Iranians can even be seen heading for the high mountains, to their villages.

Next to the border on our side is the village of Negram. The border security fence system along the shore is ruined. After it was broken down, thousands of residents of Negram and the capital of Nakhichevan ASSR [autonomous soviet socialist republic], which is 20 kilometers away, rushed here to look for their relatives in neighboring Iran.

...Now one and a half weeks have passed since those same engineering installations on the border were barbarously destroyed, and when masses of people openly began to enter the former "restricted zone." It seems to me that one can now start to analyze the reasons for what happened.

The first signals of danger were sounded as early as a month before the bulldozers and KamAZ vehicles began to tear down the wire fence and the warning system. Numerous rallies were held in the autonomous republic with demands to "remove the border." The Nakhichevan population came out to the wire fences like a " human wall," chanting: "Azerbaijan is indivisible." On an almost daily basis after this there followed various actions and mass rallies at which one could hear both sobering words and threats aimed at the authorities and the border guards.

Here, in Nakhichevan, I had occasion to talk with leaders of the autonomous republic, border guards, fellow journalists, and leaders of the People's Front. It all comes down to one thing. As has frequently happened of late, the resolution of many questions, including the border question, is being greatly delayed. By whom?

A. Bolotin, the second secretary of the Nakhichevan obkom [oblast party committee] of the Azerbaijan Communist Party, said this to me:

"It was practically impossible to prevent these events without interference from the center. The local party and soviet organs did everything. We had numerous meetings and talks with the people of Nakhichevan. At a session of the Supreme Soviet of Azerbaijan, S. Aliyeva, chairman of the presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the autonomous republic, submitted a proposal to establish a commission to resolve the border question. The commission was established and it immediately flew to Nakhichevan. But what happened was the kind of extreme we did not expect at all.

All of this is so. But the statement of S. Aliyeva at the session and the arrival of that same commission occurred just a day or two before the stormy events. Is it really possible in such a short time to resolve such a complicated question?! As for the center....

Oh, that all-powerful center! We literally heap everything on it: What it really is obligated to do, and a lot more, where it is quite possible to do without "the hands of Moscow." Because the resolution of this question about the placement of the control-investigation strip is under the jurisdiction of the republic, and the permission for residents to visit gravestones which are outside the "system" is under the authority of local organs, as is the cultivation of fertile land at the border.

A. Dzhalilov, the new first secretary of the Nakhichevan obkom, invited me to a meeting with the elders of local villages. Along the way, he cited several figures: Among the 300,000 population of the autonomous republic, about 40,000 are unemployed, and the republic's budget is R87 billion [rubles], which is much less than in other similar autonomies, approximately R300 a year for each resident of the Nakhichevan Republic.

Undoubtedly, the situation in Nakhichevan is difficult. And the republic's authorities were well informed of this. But it was only after the events on the border that the work which the people expected for so long got under way. The border question began to be resolved quickly, and contacts were also made with the contiguous sides—Iran and Turkey. All of this could have been done much sooner.

One of the leaders of the People's Front of Nakhichevan, A. Shamilov, an employee of a republic newspaper, was right overall when he told me:

"The impression is being created that perestroyka in no way affects the Nakhichevan ASSR. And in this situation it is not that difficult for us to get the people behind us."

Only self-restraint kept the border guards from responding to those provocations when the People's Front brought a crowd of people to the border.

A startling fact: The local newspaper did not say a word about what occurred on the border? Why? But I did not get an answer to this question. Including from A. Akhundov, its editor. He just shrugged his shoulders and, promising, said:

"We will write about it yet, and I will assign the task...."

We were riding in a jeep along the Araks River with an officer from one of the border posts. From time to time, gendarmes appeared on the other side. One of them at first waved to us in a friendly way, then he sat in his vehicle and drove parallel with us on his side. We looked at him and we smiled, literally saying to him, "Do not worry, everything will be all right!" He apparently understood and turned his vehicle around.

"You see, the Iranians have intensified their border security," noted the officer. "You rarely saw them previously."

When we came to the border post, a border guard detail was getting ready to move out. I thought: "How difficult it is for these fellows!"

"The law is the same for everyone," said Junior Sergeant S. Dzhambulatov. "Why is it permissible for some to break it? Because what the People's Front is doing here is lawlessness."

And it is impossible not to agree with him in this.

...Meanwhile, the People's Front continues to inflame the situation. Instigation, threats, burning the posts, if the border guards do not leave. They "secure" what is left of the border strip.

Lieutenant Colonel N. Usachev, the chief of the Dzhulfa border checkpoint, told me:

"I am already an elderly person. And do you know what I consider to be my main achievement in life, even though I have been in emergency situations more than once? I have not lost one soldier in many years of service. And I am also proud that our border troops never were and never will be a punitive organ. But immediate legal proceedings should be brought against those who incited excesses on the border."

N. Pustovit, the Azerbaijani deputy public prosecutor, arrived in Nakhichevan with an investigatory group. They have a very difficult task. One thing is clear—the law was violated flagrantly. The guilty persons must be punished. But the main thing is to immediately resolve those troubling questions that Nakhichevan residents raised a long time ago.

Armenia-Nakhichevan Border Situation Reported

PM2901102190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
27 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Own correspondent S. Bablumyan report: "There Were No Shots Last Night...."]

[Text] Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR]—This report was passed on from the Armenian Ministry of Internal Affairs on the morning of 26 January. The previous evening I attended the latest round of talks between representatives of the Armenian National Movement and the Nakhichevan People's Front. The dialogue ended with an accord—to cease firing along the entire Armenian-Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR] border.

The "no-man's-land" zone that I already know well. A ring of submachinegunners tightly covering a small area of land where the two negotiating sides are conducting dialogue. USSR People's Deputy Major General M. Surkov is mediating in this highly important discussion.

Under the 25 January agreement, as of 1600 hours Moscow Time all the informal organizations' combatant forces ceased firing along the entire Armenian-Nakhichevan ASSR border. They agreed that a meeting would be held 27 January between the two informal organizations' leaders to begin the practical work of withdrawing armed detachments to a safe distance from the border. Soviet Army subunits will guarantee fulfillment of this agreement.

At the meeting between representatives of the Armenian National Movement and the Nakhichevan People's Front the question of the fate of the Armenian and Azerbaijani citizens who have disappeared during the conflict was also discussed. This question will be discussed at subsequent meetings between the two organizations. A meeting took place between rayon party committee first secretaries from Nakhichevan ASSR's Ilichevskiy Rayon and Armenia's Araratskiy Rayon.

Another problem is now on the agenda—the problem of lifting the blockade on the railroad through the Nakhichevan ASSR's territory. At present the consequences of the blockade are making themselves felt increasingly tangibly: Food and fuel supplies are dwindling and the main gas pipeline is barely "breathing." Several days ago

I visited Armenia's Idzhevanskiy Rayon, the destination of the main gas pipeline from Azerbaijan's Kazakhskiy Rayon. When I arrived in Idzhevan the latest round of talks—which have so far, unfortunately, been unsuccessful—was under way there. Yu. Khodzhamiryan, deputy chairman of the Armenian Council of Ministers, who is here, announced that the republic is now receiving less than 11 million cubic meters instead of 21 million cubic meters of gas a day. In Yerevan, for instance, 17 out of 244 industrial enterprises have completely shut down, while 116 are working at quarter strength.

...Returning from Araratskiy Rayon after the talks, I met an oncoming military convoy. Infantry fighting vehicles, armored personnel carriers, and other hardware passed by at great speed, brightly illuminating the road.

Major General N. Pishchev, chief of Yerevan Garrison, announced that the troop advance to all Armenia's rayons bordering on Azerbaijan is proceeding strictly according to plan. Subunits which have already occupied the prescribed positions have set about fulfilling their set tasks and providing amenities [obustroystvo]. Close cooperation has been established with USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs internal troops deployed in the republic. "I deem it necessary to point out," the general said, "that we are coordinating all our actions with the local authorities. The republic's population has a benevolent attitude to the Army and no excesses have been recorded throughout this period."

The troop advance is continuing.

Military Officer Discusses Border Situation

PM2601115390 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Jan 90 First Edition p 1

[Lieutenant Colonel V. Kosarev telephone report under rubric "Our Special Correspondents Report": "Difficult Dialogue on Border"]

[Text] 24 Jan—I met Major General Ye. Dubin, chief of the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] internal troops tactical task force for the Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR], on the border between Ilichevskiy Rayon, Nakhichevan ASSR, and Armenia's Araratskiy Rayon in the village of Sadarak. I asked him why he is there.

[Dubin] I came here with a group of officers. I am working with the Nakhichevan ASSR MVD and the People's Front to normalize relations between the opposing sides. In close cooperation with Major General (Internal Troops) N. Fedosov, chief of a similar tactical task force, who is on Armenian territory. His troops are right opposite, 150 meters is all that separates us. Our task is to prevent clashes among the population on this border.

[Kosarev] In what conditions do internal troop soldiers have to serve here?

[Dubin] Very difficult ones since the situation is extremely explosive. The most fantastic rumors are fueling passions. [Dubin ends]

Yevgeniy Andreyevich, like his colleague Maj Gen (Internal Troops) N. Fedosov, is taking part in the talks which have begun here, which—despite great difficulties—are nonetheless continuing. There is no other way today to avoid the further escalation of the conflict and remove the armed thugs from the border areas. Strange as this may seem, informals are the main protagonists at these bilateral meetings. That is why I asked B. Ararktsyan, member of the Armenian National Movement Board, to comment on their progress.

"They have a single aim—to normalize the situation in the region. However, the talks are constantly being dragged out, the time of the meetings is not observed, and other conditions are violated. But we are prepared to wait patiently."

The Azerbaijani side makes precisely the same complaints. Who is right?

Mutual mistrust and suspicion both exist. But the main point is that there is a desire to reach an agreement and untangle the tight knot of the conflict, which is causing people to suffer and blood to be shed. It must be noted that questions of restoring damaged railroad communication, opening up the passage of trains between Armenia and Azerbaijan, and unblocking the highway into the village of Kerki in Ilichevskiy Rayon are also being discussed within the framework of the talks.

Today thanks to joint efforts the situation here is under control. But instances of attacks on internal affairs organs, paramilitary security subunits, and other facilities with a view to stealing weapons are still causing serious concern in Armenia.

Rallies of many thousands of people are being held in Yerevan where people condemn cases of weapons seizure and call for them to be handed over to the authorities. But as yet this process is slow in being organized.

Nakhichevan Calm; Armenian Mission Crowded

LD2701143590 Moscow TASS in English 1341 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] Baku January 27 TASS—There have been no marked changes in the situation in the first half of the day, Baku Commandant Lieutenant General Vladimir Dubinyak said in an announcement. Considering a large number of questions about the work of public transport addressed to the commandant's office, Dubinyak said that fuelling stations began to work to ensure the normal work of public and service transport.

In connection with the death of two people in a road accident on the Baku-Sumgait highway on January 24, the driver of an armoured vehicle involved has been detained and will face criminal charges.

According to reports from the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region, the bus service between several settlements of the region was resumed. Two trains of building materials and products arrived at the Stepanakert railway on January 26. Telephone communications were restored with the region. Seven activists of the so-called "Karabakh Movement" were detained in Stepanakert for seditious actions.

The situation was calm on Friday on the territory of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic, which is part of Azerbaijan, the site of inter-ethnic clashes in the past ten days. An agreement on ceasefire, reached between the Armenian National Movement and the Nakhichevan Popular Front is being observed.

Order has been gradually restored on the USSR-Iran state border. However tensions remain. Violators are still being detained.

Moscow January 27 TASS—Despite Saturday, the Armenian government representation in Moscow is still crowded. Refugees from Azerbaijan, numbering roughly 4,000 people, continue to arrive, TASS was told by Remir Burnazyan, Armenia's deputy permanent representative. More than 1,000 people received accommodation at rest homes outside Moscow and in hotels. Others were put up by relatives and friends. Some 150 people, mainly old-age people, are accommodated in the buildings of the permanent representation.

State of Emergency Continues in Nakhichevan

LD2801215990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Video Report by V. Polozhentsev, identified by screen caption, from Nakhivechan on 28 January; from "Seven Days" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Polozhentsev] Today, too, the state of emergency continues in the Autonomous Republic of Nakhichevan. However, the military is not interfering in its internal affairs. The People's Front is in control of order in Nakhichevan. A dry law has been proclaimed in the republic. However, industrial enterprises and public transport are still not operating here. Gasoline for private cars is only being issued to members of the People's Front. Some shops are open, but there is virtually nothing to buy. It is very difficult to fly into Nakhichevan, and even more difficult to fly out. Our film group made it to the city on an airplane which was delivering medicines. The first conversation was right by the aircraft steps.

[Unidentified man] You will not show anything on "Vremya" anyway. You will pick the pictures that you need—not you, but whoever it is that needs them.

[Second unidentified man] Where was "Vremya" or Moscow Televison when the battles were going on [word indistinct]? Where were you when human blood was flowing?

[Polozhentsev] The People's Front is in control of television, radio, newspaper, the post, and the telegraph service in Nakhichevan. Incidentally, only the "Vremya" program is shown among the local programs; all other broadcasts are local. The republic's People's Front is a real political force. All issues which arise are discussed at joint sessions of the Nakhichevan party obkom [oblast committee] and the People's Front. It is true that our film group was not allowed in to any of these.

According to local press reports, in the middle of the night on 20 January, Aliyev, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Autonomous republic announced Nakhichevan's secession from the USSR on local television. The People's Front actively supported this statement. Mass meetings were held in many rayons in the republic. Appeals were made at them for all the communists to leave the party. In those population centers where the People's Front does not have widespread influence the local population has a critical attitude to such actions.

Yesterday we visited the headquarters of the Nakhichevan People's Front, where, of course, a conversation started on ethnic problems and the situation in Transcaucasia. Pay attention—border guards, too, are talking to the People's Front members. A major role in the establishment of trust between them has been played by the fact that in the days when mass pogroms were going on against border fortifications, not a single shot was fired by the Border guards.

Correspondent Reports on Nakhivechan Situation

LD2801194490

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1600 GMT on 28 January carries a 3.5-minute recorded report by special correspondent Sergey Omelchenko in Nakhivechan.

He says: "A consignment of medicines has been delivered to Nakhichevan by a special flight from Moscow. This is a humane act of good will on the part of the border guards, who are making efforts to normalize the situation in the autonomous republic." Omelchenko reports on the arrival of the small military aircraft at Nakhichevan airport, border troops immediately started unloading, and the medicines were received by an unnamed deputy health minister of the autonomous republic, amid large crowds of people.

"Nakhichevan has indeed gotten lost amongst the snowy mountains," Omelchenko says, "The main transportation arteries, the railways and main roads, are cut off, and people are as if cut off from the world, for a long time they have not been receiving newspapers,—people are thirsting for fresh news. Everything in this mountainous region seems to be concealed in a cold and snowy silence, and the airport appears to be the only place where life has not come to a halt. People are attracted there, but they take no part in unloading the medicines which have in fact been brought for them. Here, I understand, there are not only folk who have come to gape, but also activists of the local people's front: They eavesdrop on every conversation and watch who flys in and what they bring. Well, the border troops delivered the expensive cargo so essential here in Nakhichevan on their own initiative, after a pharmaceutical warehouse was blown up by extremists." Omelchenko then interviews a pharmacist who flew in with the medicines from the USSR Ministry of Health, who laments that such a situation has arisen; and talks to an onlooker at the airport who complains about the difficulties in contacting relatives.

Omelchenko resumes: "Well, the border troops are now taking every possible measure to ensure there are no unauthorized border crossings and to make communication between relatives in Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic and Iran simpler. Local inhabitants, however, who have tasted the previously forbidden fruit and visited Iran, consider that their fellow tribesmen there live worse and are poorer. Now the majority of Nakhichevan Azerbaijanis are in favor of a reasonable regime on the border and in favor of restoration of calm and order."

Baku Commandant Describes Current Situation

NC2601184190 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1610 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Notice issued by Baku military commandant Lieutenant General Dubinyak; read by announcer]

[Text] No violations of the law have been recorded today. However, regardless of my requests, certain unknown individuals are trying to disrupt public order, spread completely unfounded rumors, and obstruct the work of the citizens and [word indistinct] people. In accordance with the law, we have to act against such individuals.

Nearly 100 [as heard] citizens have been detained for 30 days since the disruption over the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's decision and the declaration of a state of emergency in Baku. I request that the leading officials in establishments bring the presidium's decision to the attention of the workers and the employees and explain it to them once again.

I appeal to the city's residents and party and soviet organs, including the communists, once again. The strikes must end and law and order must be restored in the establishments. I hope my appeal will quickly reach each and every Baku resident.

I wish to bring to your attention once again that according to information made available by the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic Ministry of [word indistinct] and Ministry of Internal Affairs, 125 individuals have been killed during this period, including 27 military men or Internal Affairs Department workers.

[Signed] Lieutenant General Dubinyak, military commandant of Baku

Situation 'Stabilizing'

LD2701224190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1830 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] One week after the introduction of the state of emergency in the city, the operational situation is stabilizing, Lieutenant General Dubinyak, commandant of the city of Baku, has stated. He replied today to questions by TASS correspondents about the situation in the city.

There have been two incidents over the past 24 hours. One hundred and two people were detained just for violating the curfew during the night of 26-27 January. Not all stop on the first demand, and in this event warning measures are resorted to: Shooting in the air. Unfortunately, all kinds of rumors are still current in the city. For example, much has been said about shooting in the area of Salyanskiye barracks. Rumors spread among local residents that the subdetachments stationed there were being brought up to strength with persons of Armenian nationality. In fact, they were conscripts from the reserve. They are not, of course, 19-year-old boys, but are bearded, and this evoked aggression against them. They were fired upon from surrounding houses. This gave rise to return fire. The incident was localized. A decision was made to withdraw the reservists from Baku and to demobilize them. The subdetachments stationed there have now been brought up to strength with ordinary conscripts.

To a question about how difficulties with supplies of foodstuffs and essential goods are being overcome, the Baku commandant replied: These difficulties have come about in connection with the fact that the railroad, the city's main supply channel, was paralyzed. Active measures are being taken to correct the situation, and according to our data, the railroad already is in operation. The city will not be left without foodstuffs. No one will permit this. The transportation problem also is being resolved. We deployed subdetachments of military drivers to the fuel tanker depot. However, our services were not required. On the first day, more than 20 vehicles left the depot and replenished the tanks of filling stations, filled up the state transportation, and then began to fill up private transportation, as well. We also have prepared ourselves for a possible blocking of public transportation by the guerillas [boyeviki].

My attitude to the Azerbaijan Popular Front is mixed, he went on to say. We must find out who engendered the tragedy and what role was played in this by the Popular Front and its extremist forces.

A TASS correspondent asked him to say a few words about the main tasks of the administration of the commandant's office. The first and the main task, Lt Gen Dubinyak replied, is to protect public order and citizens' security. We receive active support in all our undertakings from party and soviet organs. We also are cooperating actively with the Azerbaijan law enforcement bodies. It would be unthinkable to carry out the tasks entrusted to us in conditions of a state of emergency and a curfew without the local militia and procurator's office. They know people and they know the city. At the beginning, there was a certain amount of friction, but the commandant's office has no problems now with regard to the apparatus of the Azerbaijan Ministry of Internal Affairs.

'No Serious Violations'

LD2701112890 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0938 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] Baku, 27 Jan (TASS)—TASS special correspondents Aleksandr Budris, Pavel Sinyakov, and Vladimir Fomin report:

During the past night no serious violations of public order were recorded in Baku, capital of Azerbaijan, where a state of emergency is in effect. The morning report from Lieutenant General Vladimir Dubinyak, commandant of the city, says that 102 people were detained for violating the curfew and 4 for administrative violations. At midday yesterday a group of servicemen was fired upon near the building of the Nizaminskiy Rayon party committee resulting in one wounded. The soldiers did not use their weapons.

The law and order forces are continuing their work to create normal conditions for life and work for Baku inhabitants.

In connection with the rumors circulating about what took place in Baku Bay on 24 January, the commandant reported the following: After receiving information about the presence of weapons on a number of ships lying in Baku Bay, the troops inspected them. During this, the servicemen were fired upon by automatic weapons from individual ships. Two servicemen were wounded, one seriously. During the operation the extremist opposition on the ships was suppressed. Not a single ship was damaged. Some of the people on board the ships were detained, and an investigation is under way.

Vladimir Dubinyak calls attention to the fact that there are still people operating in the city, provoking violations of public order, spreading provocative rumors and hindering citizens and officials from carrying out their legal rights and duties.

Since the state of emergency was put into effect in Baku, about 100 people have been detained administratively for 30 days.

Quoting data from the Azerbaijan Ministry of Health and the republican Ministry of Internal Affairs, the commandant gave more detailed information about the number of people who have been killed or have died from wounds since 20 January. There are 125, including 27 servicemen and officials of law enforcement bodies.

In connection with the relative improvement in the situation in Baku, the armored vehicles have been withdrawn from the central square in front of Government House. it is true that Military vehicles are still stationed in front of the sea terminal and other administrative and state institutions.

Food shops and public catering establishments are opening. Transport is working partially. Newspapers have begun to be published, in particular 'BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY' in Russian, and 'SEKHER' ('MORNING') in Azeri. There is still no television.

The main hotbeds of tension created by armed terrorists have been eliminated. As a result of energetic operations carried out on 26 January by Ministry of Internal Affairs internal troops, the KGB, and the Soviet Army in a number of towns of Azerbaijan, terrorist groups' leaders have been detained. A plan by People's Front guerrillas to seize important administrative buildings and prisons in Baku has been thwarted. Over 1,000 sets of military-style uniforms and a considerable quantity of ammunition was discovered in the People's Front headquarters.

Magomet Gatami, who declared himself one of the Milli Guturlush's (which translates as National Liberation) leaders, was arrested in Baku for inciting inter-ethnic dissension which resulted in people's deaths in January this year and had grave consequences. This is stated in a separate report from Commandant Vladimir Dubinyak.

On 25 January, Rakhmi Gadzhiyev, one of the Azerbaijan People's Front National Defense Committee leaders, and three accompanying bodyguards were detained here. An investigation is under way.

Appeal to Citizens

LD2801183890 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1730 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Text] We present a report by the commandant of the city of Baku.

[Commandant] Comrades, curfew violations are still occurring in the city. Since it came into effect, some 500 arrests have been made. In this connection, I appeal to all citizens to observe without fail the regime which has been imposed. I ask the leaders of enterprises and offices to take control of the [words indistinct].

I wish to explain once again that the period of validity of passes is determined by the duration of the curfew: [words indistinct]. Passes are valid throughout the territory of the city of Baku and are nontransferable. They are issued to one citizen or car. Each driver of a vehicle must have a transport [words indistinct]; his passengers must also have passes. All citizens who are away from their homes or place of work during the curfew must have a proof of identity with them as well as a pass of the required format. Citizens without passes and documents will be detained until their identity can be ascertained. Transfer of passes is strictly forbidden, and the forging of them is punishable by law.

Comrades! As you know, on 11 January of this year, the so-called Defense Committee of the National Front in Lenkoran, led by one (?Gumbatov), seized power in the city by force of arms. the work of the party, local soviet, and law enforcement bodies was paralyzed. For all of 5 days, active attempts were made, by negotiation, to restore the life and work of the city and rayon. The majority of the population of the city of Lenkoran has understood, and reacted correctly to, the efforts of representatives of the party and local soviet bodies of the republic to restore order, and has renounced extremist slogans and illegal acts.

On 25 and 26 January, the buildings of the party raykom (rayon party committee) and of its ispolkom (soviet executive committee) were vacated voluntarily and without use of force (?for the use of) the soviet and administrative bodies. The roads and the airport were unblocked. The leaders of the People's Front promised to disband the so-called guerilla groups of the People's Front of Azerbaijan. The disarmament process began. Many weapons have been handed over in the city. Yet the (?mercenary) Defense Committee, implementing the provocative aims of the extremist leaders of the People's Front from the city of Baku, seized a large group of guerillas that had tried to disappear from the city, and [word indistinct] with the rebels carried out an armed attack on a military unit. In the ensuing exchange of fire, six people were killed, including one serviceman. Others were wounded. The units of the armed forces and [word indistinct] seized 52 firearms, a large quantity of ammunition, three homemade mortars, and detained about 50 armed guerillas. Among them were three leaders of the Defense Committee of the People's Front of [passage indistinct]

Baku 'Calm in the Main'

LD2801153990 Moscow TASS in English 1519 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Text] Baku January 28 TASS—By TASS special correspondents Pavel Sinyakov and Vladimir Fomin:

Over the past 24 hours the situation in Baku has been calm in the main, said today's morning report by Lieutenant General Vladimir Dubinyak, the military commandant of the city.

As a result of measures taken, a number of leaders of the so-called National Defence Committee, the Milli Gurtulush (National Salvation) Organization and most militant members of individual informal organisations were arrested in recent days.

Over the past 24 hours, troop patrols detained two people for crimes, 12 people for unlawful acts punishable under administrative law in accordance with the decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet on the introduction of the state of emergency in the city of Baku, and 56 people for violating the curfew. There were also five instances of the confiscated of ammunition.

Unfortunately, the commandant's report said, there still are instances of attacks on servicemen. A body of [a] serviceman with the signs of violent death was discovered in a house basement on January 27. Criminal proceedings were instituted in connection with this and similar cases.

The military commandant once again emphasised that troops and the law and order maintenance forces strictly carry out the order to protect the constitutional rights and freedoms of Baku residents. At the same time, in accordance with law, servicemen have been granted the right to use weapons if their lives are in danger.

Lieutenant General Vladimir Dubinyak called on all Baku residents to end the bloodshed and report all cases of unlawful actions to commandant's stations and internal affairs agencies.

On the night of January 26 to 27, Zeinalov, a porcelain factory worker, was detained in the Azerbaijani city of Gyandzha. A revolver and seven cartridges for it were confiscated from him. An investigation is under way, spokesman at the press service of the commandant's office told TASS.

According to a spokesman for the Political Department of the Fourth Army, 186 training submachine guns, 46 small-bore rifles and a large number of hunting guns and cartridges were confiscated.

Baku Deputy Commandant Assesses Situation

LD2701180290 Moscow TASS in English 1739 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] Baku January 27 TASS—On the whole the situation in Baku is gradually returning to normal, a news conference at the Central Committee of the Azerbaijani Communist Party was told by deputy military commandant Major General Anatoliy Kirilyuk

Kirilyuk said there were still cases of curfew violation and illegal actions by individuals. But life in the city is gradually returning to normalcy. City transport began functioning as some 500 buses out of 1,040 were back in the streets of Baku. The republican television made its first broadcast in the evening.

Asked by journalists about the possibility of the lifting of the state of emergency in Baku, the deputy commandant said that the decision totally depended on how events develop in future. As the situation continues to normalise, the curfew will be gradually reduced and eventually lifted.

The situation in the republic remains complex on the whole. In Lenkoran a branch of the Popular Front said it ceased its operations and was going underground. Three hundred firearms and 179,550 cartridges were returned to state authorities. An operation to block an armed gang in the area of Gaftoni, seven kilometres west of Lenkoran, was held. Five men were killed, four wounded and

54 militants detained. Fifty two firearms, three home-made mortars and a large quantity of ammunition were seized. Senior Lieutenant Konoplev was killed in the operation.

On January 26 main stations of the Azerbaijani Railway were taken under control.

The situation on the border with Iran is being stabilised. There are currently three checkpoints: At Belyasuar, Duali and Astara. Sixty three people were detained for illegally crossing the border.

Yazov: Informals 'Prepared To Seize Power'

FM2601185790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Jan 90 Morning Edition pp 1-2

[IZVESTIYA special correspondent Igor Andreyev telephone report: "Baku, 26 January"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted]. Late yesterday evening USSR Defense Minister Army General D.T. Yazov met with a group of Moscow journalists.

[Yazov] Hitherto approximately 80 extremist members of the People's Front and informals have been arrested. Everyone will be subjected to individual investigation and their degree of guilt for what has happened will be established. But our task is not to arrest everyone but to destroy the power structure that has taken shape at all enterprises and establishments.

I did not make a mistake—namely the power structure. They prepared to seize power and were so confident of their success that at 2300 hours 18 January—24 hours before the troops were brought into Baku—they themselves proclaimed a state of emergency. In many rayons of the city soviet and party organs had effectively lost control of the situation by then. A rally was scheduled for 20 January, at which it was intended to proclaim the transfer of power into the hands of the People's Front.

The newspapers have already described the resistance offered to the troops entering the city. I would add the following: The fighters were perfectly well aware of any movements by our subunits. Some 50 radio cars cruised around the city and the suburbs. What they saw and heard was immediately reported to the center, which proved to be the ship "Sabid Orudzhev." This vessel first approached the mooring then, fearing capture, moved away from the shore. The fighters' actions were also controlled from there. It is regrettable that some Azerbaijan Ministry of Internal Affairs staffers along with their technical and other potential were used for these purposes. The following fact, for instance, indicates the kind of weapons with which the fighters were equipped. When an operation was performed on an assault trooper wounded during the capture of the "Orudzhev," a bullet from a modern Kalashnikov submachinegun was extracted from him. Investigative bodies will have to establish its origin.

A few more words about weapons. In Khanlarskiy Rayon fighters used hail-suppression guns. Last year I issued an order for their firing pins to be confiscated. Well, these guns turned up in the fighters' positions with... new pins, manufactured underground.

Let me give you the following figure. According to our estimates, there are approximately 40,000 fighters in Azerbaijan "armed" with submachineguns, rifles of various kinds, mortars, and hunting guns. Now that we have arrested some informals and inspected the People's Front rayon office, we have even discovered military uniforms—ranging from those for enlisted men to generals. Many extremist informals have gone into hiding, and it is no easy task to flush them out in a city of 2 million people.

I particularly want to stress that I have served in Baku, I know the Azerbaijani people, I value and respect their sense of their own dignity, their love of hard work. People have grown tired of the excesses, the bloodshed, and the constant alarm. Many people say this when you are left face to face with them.

Certainly, the people have been made wretched by the confusion engendered by enterprise stoppages—only 22 enterprises are actually operating in Baku as of 25 January. In effect there are 325 standing idle. What about other losses? Above all losses of equipment, and hundreds and hundreds of trucks, buses, and other vehicles used to obstruct the troops' path. Before clearing them I sent a State Automobile Inspection officer along to copy the registration numbers. Now it is easy to establish to which establishments these vehicles—which were lost through negligence or design—belonged.

I want to assure you that the Army's actions aim to breathe life into Baku's dying economy, confiscate the population's weapon stocks, and destroy the organizational structure of the People's Front, who are lusting for power. All this will help us to relax the state of emergency regime as quickly as possible and then lift it altogether.... [Yazov ends]

On the morning of 26 January I had a meeting with Lieutenant Colonel yevgeniy Savilov, commander of the assault troop regiment which captured the motor ship "Sabid Orudzhev." Their task was to take possession of this vessel and also the ferry at the pier. After they were captured, vessels of various classes which had blockaded the entrance to the port for several days began to perform threatening maneuvers which could, in the lieutenant colonel's opinion, have ended with an armed landing on the shore. Several warning shots fired from a combat landing craft's guns cooled down the attackers. However, the assault troops came under automatic weapons fire from four ships changing position in port waters. Ships of the Caspian military flotilla, whose way into the port was previously barred by civilian ships, now have the situation totally under control.

Here is the latest news. On the morning of 26 January troops occupied vital communications facilities in Baku and throughout the republic. Communications swtichboards were set up there and guards organized. In conjunction with civilian specialists, military communications operators have organized reliable provision of all types of communications facilities and transport for the republic's economy. Communications should operate reliably as of today.

Yazov Defends Timing of State of Emergency

PM2901113190 Moscow TRUD in Russian 27 Jan 90 p 3

[A. Trushin report under rubric "TRUD Special Correspondents Report": "Everyone Needs Dialogue"]

[Excerpt] Baku, 26 Jan—[Passage omitted] The main concern worrying people today not only in the city but also throughout the republic is whether the troops should have been brought into Baku 20 January. This was the question with which journalists began the discussion at a meeting with USSR Defense Minister Army General D. Yazov.

[Yazov] Let us have a sensible discussion. By the time that the troops were brought in Azerbaijan People's Front leaders had, according to our estimates, mobilized up to 40,000 guerrillas "under arms." The troops' arrival did not come as a surprise to them: Barriers were erected on all main routes into the city, highways were blocked by trucks loaded with ballast and bridges were blocked with blazing tires. Front members held 208 rallies in the fall to wreck the army draft. They did not balk at anything: They intimidated parents, the draftees themselves, and picketed aircraft. They talked of Karabakh, but put up barricades in Baku. When the pogroms against Armenian families began 13-14 January and Russians also began to receive threats, various marks appeared on the doors of their apartments.

We were unable to introduce the state of emergency before 20 January. There were not enough forces in the republic's capital to maintain order. Internal troop servicemen and military units stationed here were effectively blockaded in their permanent basing areas, and we had no right to withdraw them from there and lose people under fire. I can say one thing quite definitely: As soon as the economy begins to function and the people return to normal working life, we will gradually lift the state of emergency. [Yazov ends]

But there is still a long way to go before that happens. Yesterday, for instance, Colonel General G. Kobets met with leaders of the republic's communications subdivisions. The general tried to reach agreement on restoring the communications system in the republic. Accusations came thick and fast in response to this proposal and rumor and conjecture alleging thousands of fatalities was repeated. That was that. So by 0830 hours this morning military headquarters were organized in all communications departments. Thus communications were established in the republic with the help of the military.

The refugee situation has somewhat stabilized. After the appeal from the military commandant and the defense minister to members of servicemen's families, approximately 400 families came back from the airport to their apartments. Let us hope that no one threatens their lives.

Official Appeals in Transcaucasus Turmoil

First Secretary Mutalibov

LD2701233690 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Speech by Ayaz Niyazi ogly Mutalibov, first secretary of Communist Party of Azerbaijan Central Committee; date, place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] Dear compatriots, in these days of mourning, all our people are grieving for their brave martyred sons. As a son of my own people, personally, on behalf of my family I extend my condolences with deep sorrow to the fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters, all relatives and close friends of those who were martyred. Their memory will live forever in our hearts.

It is obligatory now to relieve the hearts of people who were struck by tragic events, to share their grief, and to create among them a trust in tomorrow. Life goes on. One must not allow grief and sorrow to prevail. We must do all we can to save the republic from the deep crisis into which it has fallen and to return to normal working life.

I have been handed a great trust during this difficult and grave period. It is my sacred obligation to serve my people conscientiously and truthfully. I assure you that I will prove this not in words, but in practice. I pin my hopes in my work on your assistance, and I expect this assistance from you. It is not said in vain: If you rely on people, you will never falter. It is also said: You cannot clap with only one hand. The main question today is to maintain peace and law and order and to create conditions for ending the state of emergency in Baku. This is not only a question of [word indistinct], but in the meantime a question of our dignity.

As you know, the plenum of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan Central Committee created a commission and instructed it to analyze the causes of the tragic events in Baku. Based on this, a political assessment of events will be made, and relevant measures will be taken. The deputies commission of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet is also carefully studying the events and is investigating. The results of these commissions' work will be (?conveyed) to the public. I assure my people that not a single person who is guilty of the death of innocent people will escape responsiblity. Those who disrupt the economy, create chaos in production, and (?caused the loss) of a large amount of material wealth, vital to the people as well as to immigrants, will not escape responsibility. Power stations are faced with stoppages. It will be a year before our oil fields will work at their normal capacity. Families may be without water, heat, light, and food for years. We must make efforts in these areas and act as a government whose leadership can reconcile such a situation.

I appeal to workers, peasants, intellectuals, and all toilers in the republic. I call on all of you to start work without delay and to eliminate the lagging behind which has been allowed. The destiny of each one of us and all of us depends on this. Our republic of today and tomorrow depends on this. You must know that the leadership of the republic controls the situation. We are making all efforts so that dangerous disputes do not take place. If such incidents take place measures are immediately being taken. Nevertheless, I call on everyone to be vigilant. Do not believe fabrications and rumors. Ignore any noisy affair. Do not allow intrigues against servicemen. I call on residents of Baku to understand the situation. Representatives of work collectives, working with troop units, can help get (?baku) services back in order.

The sooner we can sustain calm and order, the sooner the troops will leave the city. I would like to point out that the existence of troops in the border rayons with Armenia has made it possible to stop bloodshed. Armed clashes have been halted. The situation is stabilizing in the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic. In other words, life is gradually returning to normal. At our request and on the orders of the Ministry of Defense, moving families of servicemen was [word indistinct]. The evacuation of the Russian-speaking population of baku has stopped.

I would like to express my gratitude to all of those who in the past few days, through their understanding [word indistinct] and by speaking in residential areas and meetings, and by expressing their views on the radio and in the press, have contributed to reducing fear among people and to stopping frightening rumors. We must guarantee everyone's safety. We must eliminate all provocations.

Everyone must understand unequivocally that whoever attempts to foster hostility between Azerbaijanis and Russians will only be providing grist for our enemies' mill. We are working hard to establish law and order in Nagorno-Karabakh. In this extraordinary situation, several extremist groups were neutralized, people inciting interethnic discord were imprisoned, and nationalist organizations were abolished. The organization committee of the republic has undertaken a decisive restoration of the Azerbaijan SSR's sovereignty in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. This is not easy. In order that the planned program may be implemented, we call on the population [word indistinct] to show restraint. We hope you will assist us.

I would like to take this opportunity to explain briefly how I see the path of Azerbaijan's development. In the social and political sphere: All democratic [word indistinct], to carry out broad and open [word indistinct] with healthy forces, persistently to establish principles of openness and realism; at the same time, I would like to say decisively that it is necessary to put a RESOLUTE halt to the lack of restraint, to anarchy, and to feudalism, thus strengthening order, legality, and peace.

We must also openly point out that the party organization of the republic is in serious crisis. Communists have never avoided responsibility. Today we see both classes, which have been abandoned, and see serious work shortages. But the historical reality is that we have traveled this road, the road of social progress and national uprising, under the guidance of the Communist Party.

We can maintain our future progress only when we create (?conditions) for the Communist Party of the republic to renovate and cleanse itself. This requires that every legislator examine his activity with a critical eye. But this does mean that some people are forced to [word indistinct] their party cards by blacking party members by [word indistinct] and blackmail. We are moving torward the stabilization of democratic relations. In the political struggle, [words indistinct] ways conform neither to democracy nor to the opinion of communists.

In the social and economic sphere: Practical implementation of the principle of economic independence of the republic; using our natural reserves for the benefit of our people and our republic; to establish direct relations with foreign partners, which are aimed at improving the living standards of every family, above all, prolific families. We must provide them with food, housing, and work.

In the spiritual sphere: We must take a new and more profound look at the history of Azerbaijan. Stains must be erased, and we must create suitable conditions for the development, use, and learning of the Azeri language. National traditions and festivals must be (?restored), in the real sense, and order must be created concerning questions which disturb people, for example, the names of streets, establishments and educational centers.

I remind you of only some aspects of the comprehensive work lying before us. We will seek your advice on this work.

Special attention must be paid to one question. [passage indistinct] I would like to point that the line of [words indistinct] of the republic above all means that decisions must be adopted through democratic means. From now, all questions—the future of Nagorno-Karabakh, prospects for national development and all urgent problems—will be resolved and prepared on the basis of extensive discussions, while taking into consideration the destiny of the people. All questions which are considered can be achieved only on this condition: Our people must be closely united; everything depends on us and on our well-measured work. We must make efforts to create peace and order in every party and every town of the republic, in every village and in every house.

Dear Friends, I call on all of you to work toward these goals.

Azerbaijan Deputy Minister

LD2801004590 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1735 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] [Announcer] [Words indistinct] for social security of the Azerbaijani Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Comrade Leonid Andreyevich Sokolov. [Begin Sokolov recording in Russian] I am a Russian and a native of Baku; a member of the Azerbaijani SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and deputy minister for social security. Azerbaijan nurtured and brought me up and has always shown great confidence in me. I am proud of that.

My entire conscious and creative life has been bound with Baku. My friends and coworkers are Azerbaijanis whom I deeply respect and love. No adversities in life will alter my convictions. My whole way of life and that of my family has been formed under the benign influence of the customs and mores of the Azerbaijani people in this internationalist city with its splendid traditions. Wherever I have visited outside the republic I have always been proud to say: I am from Azerbaijan, from Baku.

Now, when grave tribulations have befallen our republic, my family and I share the great grief that has visited our people. Along with the whole people, we grieve for the dead and regret what has happened. As I survey the happy past of our hard working and internationalist people, their friendliness and hospitality, I cannot believe what is going on here now or the sins of which we are accused.

At this harsh and testing time for us I declare that we are with you, my dear Azerbaijani brothers and sisters. I appeal to everyone for calm and common sense—Russians, Ukrainians, Jews, and representatives of other nationalities; to think again and to avoid ill-conceived steps in this hour of a rigorous test of strength; not to leave and abandon their native Azerbaijan, which has nurtured us and fed us. For us there is quite simply no other homeland. Do not abandon you friends and comrades in this, a testing time for them. All of us must now work doggedly to ensure that the consequences of the misfortune that has befallen us are dealt with as soon as possible so that we might have our customary, normal pattern of life so that calm and prosperity might be returned to our Azerbaijan.

[Announcer] [words indistinct in Azeri] [Announcer then speaks in Russian] You have been listening to an appeal by comrade Leonid Andreyevich Sokolov, Azerbaijani SSR deputy minister for social security.

Azerbaijan Trade Minister

LD2801014590 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1750 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] Comrade Agaselim Bagirov, minister of trade of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic, is behind the microphone:

[Bagirov] Dear compatriots: I bow before the souls of our innocent sons and daughters who have lost their lives in an untimely way during these grave and tragic days in the republic. With deep sorrow I extend my condolences to their families. While remembering those who have died during these grave days we must not forget about solving the problems of today and tomorrow. Among these vital problems first and foremost, is the question of supplying the population with consumer goods and the most urgent question is supplying them with foodstuffs. You are all aware that at the end of last year, even to a certain extent, we were able to stop the difficulty in supplying foodstuffs. No matter have grave the grief is, using all facilites, we regard as our sacred obligation supplying children, the elderly, invalids, the sick, workers, intellectuals, and the whole population with sufficient necessary foodstuffs.

During these days of grief for the people of Azerbaijan I appeal to the Russian-speaking people of our city, and say to them:

Protect and preserve our traditional, internationalist friendship and show restraint. Do no believe various fabrications and rumors and protect and preserve out unity. Rumors about foodstuffs not being sold to the Russian-speaking people are purely lies, they are fabrications. If you come across such cases I request you report immediately to the following telephone numbers: 985074, 949540 and 252825. The Ministry of Trade and all its organs will, on the spot, supervize the organization of daily trade services more seriously.

I appeal to workers in the trade and consumer goods industry and call on them to organize uninterrupted work of all trade networks and immediately unload railway and vehicle freight and to see that they reach the population quickly.

We appeal to the state agro-industrial enterprises and call on them to supply the population of the republic with foodstuffs without any interruption by using all facilities. I hope that through joint efforts we will eliminate the difficult situation which has come about.

Azerbaijan Party

NC2901091090 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0416 GMT 29 Jan 90

["Appeal" by Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, Council of Ministers, and Council of Trade Unions to republic's workers and people; date, place not given—read by announcer]

[Text] Dear comrades, we appeal to you during these grave days for Azeris. These days are full of the grief of the silent workers who believe in your wisdom and pure hearts. Our grief is great, and our sorrow is limitless. However, life must go on. Nevertheless, we have to put our grief aside for the sake of all those who continue to live, and for the sake of the welfare of the children, the women, the elderly, and each and every family. We have to restore normal work in our cities, towns, and all our establishments.

The majority of industrial and agricultural establishments in Baku and in many of the republic's cities and rayons are not operating. Transportation and trade services are only partially operating. More than 9,000 railway freight cars loaded with vital freight for the people have been stranded on Azerbaijan's railways and in areas close to Azerbaijan's borders.

Providing medical supplies to the cities and transporting sick people to the (?clinics) have become difficult. Hospitals are unable to operate; millions of people have been disturbed. All this is because of those who are indifferent to the people's security.

Resolute measures are being taken against individuals who provoke interethnic discord, call for disobedience, spread rumors, and incite lawless activities. Those who have been creating instability in the republic are being sent to prison. Undoubtedly, all those responsible for the tragic incidents will be deservedly punished and will be seriously accountable to Soviet laws. Life in the republic must continue; we must not forget that millions of citizens look forward (?to the) future. We have to supply water, provisions, and fuel to the children, elderly, and women in every residential area. All transportation has to be restored; establishments must resume working uninterruptedly in the cities and towns. In short, our general duty is to restore normal life for the entire republic.

We call on all the people to strengthen international unity, safeguard the people's fraternal and friendly traditions, display a maximum degree of civil maturity, and establish law, order, and peace along with the other nationalities in the republic; that is, with the Russians, Ukranians, Belorussians, Jews, and others in our common home.

Dear fellow countrymen, the workers of our republic, which includes many nationalities, can always succeed in uniting and in avoiding being carried away by grief in difficult times. Our people's future depends on our general work and unity. We call on you to report to work to give a new life to each and every house, town, rayon, and city.

Azerbaijan TV Restored; Mutalibov Speaks

LD2701184590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] Millions of people are waiting for information from Baku. Just how are things there in Azerbaijan? We have just received a dispatch from our correspondent, Islam Kuliyev:

[Begin Kuliyev recording] Baku is going through difficult days. The majority of enterprises and organizations still are not working, and there is no public transportation. The city is full of various rumors. Leaflets, appeals, and addresses are posted everywhere; people cluster around in crowds at subway stations, on the squares, and in public gardens. The republic's newspapers were published for the first time today: KOMMUNIST, BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY, and VYSHKA. The whole run was bought up literally in minutes. Appeals to the population of the republic by cultural and scientific personalities, public figures, elders, and people's deputies, as well as reports by the city commandant still are being broadcast on republican radio.

Members of the population are coming from all over the republic on a pilgrimage to Nagornyy Park, where the victims of the 20 January shootings are buried.

A report came in from Nakhichevan today: Nationwide mourning has been announced there. Yesterday evening, I tried to get a line to Nakhichevan, but this is very difficult. There is no cable link with the autonomous republic. The duty officer in the oblast party committee said that there had been no exchanges of fire for 2 days, but the situation remains tense.

A report came in today that the Lenkoran section of the Azerbaijan People's Front has announced that it is abdicating its authority and powers and is going underground. Its leadership appealed to the population over the radio to hand in their weapons to the organs of state power. Troops have carried out an operation near Lenkoran, as a result of which 54 fighters were detained.

According to another report from Baku, republican television began to operate at 1800 local time today. An address by Comrade Mutalibov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, was broadcast. [end recording]

Caspian Fleet Commander Queried on Blockade

LD2701203190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] Our correspondent, Boris Baryshnikov, visited the headquarters of the Navy, where he had a conversation with Rear Admiral Lyashenko, commander of the Caspian Flotilla in Baku, using a special communications line. Here is the recording:

[Lyashenko] The situation in the city remains complicated. Control on the part of the Flotilla warships has been organized, navigation has been organized, and the Caspian maritime shipping line has been working since yesterday. Some ships—the backbone of those ships that had been disobeying the law and provoking actions against law and order in Baku harbor and its approaches—have started working. A number of these ships actually engaged in pirate activity against the hydrographic vessels of the Flotilla, firing at members of the airborne forces during the capture of the vessel of the former NFA command post.

[Baryshnikov] NFA? You mean the people's front?

[Lyashenko] Of course, the People's Front of Azerbaijan [Narodnyy Front Azerbaidzhan]. They are all, in effect, at their mooring places now. Prior to this they were all inspected, but they have not stopped their activity.

[Baryshnikov] How does this manifest itself?

[Lyashenko] It seems to me that it involves their preparations for further actions, though I cannot tell what these are in particular. At the moment they are busy covering the traces of their criminal actions, and hindering the the investigation in every way possible. On vessels such as the "Neftegas-30," for example, used cartridge cases were found. The crew and everybody escaped on shore, and at this point we cannot find them, but I think they will be found.

[Baryshnikov] Are the crews civilian?

[Lyashenko] Of course. Of course they are civilians. The "Neftegas" is a civilian vessel; it is an oil fleet vessel. In addition to this, the situation on shipping routes is normal, and the fulfilment of plans by all shipowners has been secured. It is being controlled and secured by thousands of warships of the Caspian Flotilla. [sentence as heard] In newspaper articles it has been mentioned that the Caspian Flotilla and the headquarters of the Caspian Flotilla are blockaded. This is not true. The warships of the Caspian Flotilla cannot be blockaded by civilian vessels. You should understand this. (?These hooligans and pirates got involved in all sorts of things in the harbor—this was shown by their actions), but the Flotilla demonstrated courage and staunchness. The flotilla was not blockaded; the harbor was blockaded. This was done with one purpose in mind: To make the Caspian maritime shipping line and other shipowners, and fishermen as well, go on strike and not to go out to sea. As you know, however, the warships cannot be blockaded. I ask you to point this out because otherwise it sounds very unpleasant, and the sailors and the officers and warrant officers see the whole thing as simply the best joke.

[Baryshnikov] That is understandable; it gives the flotilla a bad reputation.

[Lyashenko] That is so. What else is in store for us?

Nakhichevan Popular Front Spokesman Interviewed

LD290111[illegible]90 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0430 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Our correspondent has been in touch with the duty officer at the USSR Interior Ministry Internal Troops Directorate. So far there have been no recorded incidents in Azerbaijan, Armenia, Nagorno-Karabakh or the Nakhichevan ASSR. The situation today is best summed up by the single word "lull." Of course, one would like it to grow into stabilization of the situation, and then into normalization. What is currently being done toward this end? A report now by our special correspondent Sergey Amelchenko from Nakhichevan:

[Amelchenko] In the towns and villages the Internal Troops and the Soviet Army are vigilantly maintaining law and order and protectiing civilians from the terrorist guerrillas. Sentry posts have been set up at junctions and important facilities. Border troops have taken control of the main stretches of the state border. The border installations that were destroyed have not yet been restored. The Nakhichevan Popular Front is demanding that the system for guarding the border be simplified.

Here is an interview with (Rasim Pashayev), a spokesman for the Popular Front:

[Begin Recording] [(Pashyayev)] We have phrased the issue in bald terms: Either you yourselves clear away the fences and the barbed wire... ever since 1946 some 17,000 hectares of useful land along the border have been lying uncultivated. We are not against them putting up whatever they want, just so long as it's not barbed wire! Now, at the end of the 20th Century, they could guard the border in other ways—with television, say, or lasers, or something else.

[Omelchenko] People have come to regard the interethnic conflict itself with greater calm and reason. But still in a rather idiosyncratic way, to put it mildly.

[(Pashayev)] I understand this with pain in my heart. My personal opinion and the opinion of my comrades is that this ought not to have happened... these interethnic relations. These events have destroyed our common home. But things will settle down. I do believe this will settle down.

[Omelchenko] You yourself realize that blood can only lead to blood, while good can lead to good?

[(Pashayev)] Oh, yes! That's right. On our part and on their part, we must take a sober view of this end and meet one another halfway. That's how it should be.

[Omelchenko] Unfortunately rumors, conjectures, and downright false information are often mixed up in people's heads with nationalist dogmas, and of course this prevents the correct conclusions from being drawn and the true path toward a normalization of the situation being found. Today, in this complex atmosphere of relative calm, political officers and officers from the internal troops, the Soviet Army and the border guards are getting out and meeting the local people in the most tense districts to explain the substance of what has been going on, reassure people, and provide truthful and honest information, for which there is a huge thirst here. For rumors are an effective weapon for those who have an interest in a destabilization of the situation, in enmity between peoples, and in fresh blood being spilt. There have been some results: Hostages are being exchanged and people are keeping their still turbulent passions in check. Meanwhile, the border guards believe that a compromise solution can be found that would simplify the procedure for relatives to communicate across the border and ensure that the population itself, along with the border guards, defends our border. [end recording]

Armenian Writer Interviewed; 'Hatred Won't Help'

LD2601190290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] The situation in Armenia: Our correspondent Karyun Khumaryan reports from Yerevan:

[Khumryan] At the very peak of the interethnic crisis in Transcaucasia, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Armenia, the Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Council of Ministers of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic formed a republican council to deal with the extraordinary circumstances, which took the situation throughout the republic, including 12 rayons bordering on Azerbaijan, under control via its on-site bodies—rayon and operative headquarters. In this situation, which is fraught with most unpredictable events, it was decided to form an analysis and forecasting group, attached to the republican council. Representatives of our creative and scientific intelligentsia, to whose word and opinion attention is paid among the people and also in the leadership, joined. Today, I met one of the members of that group, writer Vardges Petrosyan, chairman of the Armenian Culture Fund Board, and asked him to comment on the latest events in the region, and to share his thoughts on the ways out of the situation.

[Begin recording] [Petrosyan] Let's take the emergency situation in Baku. I think it is a very necessary—late, but very necessary measure. But again it provokes a somewhat different feeling. Even Boris Yeltsin, champion of our democracy and freedom, suddenly condemns the emergency situation in Baku. Why? Because he wants to critisize Gorbachev? Has any reason been provided to attack Gorbachev? What happened? Even such bright personalities, in my opinion, as Yuriy Afanasyev and Gavriil Popov—suddenly they are accusing. But I think that if such a situation had not been introduced, we would now be simply in the process of civil war.

[Khumaryan] What do you suggest in the way of reacting to this complex, extremely complex situation?

[Petrosyan] Escalation of hatred won't help anyone. We must think about it. There can be talks. We can sit down at a roundtable, and the Center must help as well; that's why the federation exists. All those need to be started with repentance; that is, the Azerbaijani intelligentsia must declare its attitude to acts of vandalism in Sumgait and Baku, the extermination of people, the destruction of monuments. And the Armenian side, before talks take place, must announce our attitude and condemnation, too. Without this it is impossible. But we must search for ways. There is no other way, because—I say again—we are destined to live side by side, destined to be friends, destined to be neighbors. We need to proceed from reality. The Fatherland is not like an apartment. With a bad neighbor you can leave an apartment and move into another town or street. Azerbaijan must be there and Armenia must be here. We must proceed from this reality. Really, if the wisdom and emotions of the people are concentrated in the intelligentsia, we must think about this. [end recording]

Tikhomirov Comments on TV Coverage

LD2801225690 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 28 Jan 90

[From "Seven Days" newscast presented by Aleksandr Tikhomirov]

[Text] You have heard us being accused of not being objective, and every time, numerous fiery telegrams arrive from Armenia and Azerbaijan after reports from Transcaucasia.

Well, first of all, please allow our correspondents to have their own opinions about the events taking place there.

Second, we are often obliged to broadcast TASS reports, without always sharing that opinion, which is considered to be an official one. There are no signatures under these reports. This is clearly the fruit of creative work by the apparatus. It would be desirable for the authors' names to be stated.

Third, It is impossible and indeed unethical to be good for everyone. Was it not in fact this—let us put it this way—effectively a nonstandpoint taken by the center which allowed events to develop in precisely this way?

Let us hope that there will be no more blood. This, however, is the opinion of many of our viewers, and I agree with them: Let the government provide a clear assessment of the events in Transcaucasia. Let it announce a program of measures to stabilize the situation. Let it specify the time when the troops will be withdrawn.

For the moment, this is where the foreign press is placing the emphasis:

The present conflict represents the gravest crisis which the president has ever had to deal with. That is the BBC of Great Britain.

Here is THE WASINGTON POST: The Soviet Union is so large, and the national groups in one part are so isolated from the others, that Gorbachev is in charge of not so much one country with numerous crises as many countries, each of which has its own crisis.

Baku First Secretary Blames 'Senior Officials'

LD2701094890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] Our correspondent Leonid Lazarevich has inteviewed Comrade Mamedov, first secretary of the Baku Party Gorkom.

[Begin recording] [Mamedov] All things must be looked at realistically. The situation is, of course, too tense. People have died. Not a single person can ignore such misfortune. It's a tragedy, a great tragedy, which is being experienced by millions of people today in Azerbaijan. Probably the wisdom and mind, the heart, and every cell in the human body feel this. The city of Baku and the people of Azerbaijan have incurred a most serious problem, and not just for one year. It is a political, economic, social, cultural, everyday—in general, a human problem. People must be able to look one another straight in the eye. This will be very difficult to do.

[Lazarevich] Who is to blame for what has happened?

[Mamedov] I'm sorry, I can't name any particular person. Very many people are to blame. Those who, while taking advantage of democracy, glasnost, and the possibility of pluralism of opinions, and ran off on a completely different track are to blame. Unfortunately, many intellectuals remained on the sidelines. They didn't make people understand or embark on the necessary conversations and chats with those who might have stopped that movement. I think that the passions will pass. They will pass and reason will gain the upper hand, although a great deal of work will have to be done for that. A normalization of the situation in the city will take place. As a person, and not just as a party official, I am worried by everything that is happening in our country today. I regard the development and deepening of unbridled nationalism as a very serious crime. No one could inflict as much damage on the country as is being inflicted today by unbridled nationalism and by extremists on both sides.

Senior officials in the republic are, of course, to blame here. Some people are probably, nevertheless, trying to offload the whole blame on to one person. I'm not inclined to do that. I see salvation from the present position as depending on no one's relinquishing responsibility, no one's saying that he has no part in some step or decision that has been made. We are all guilty to some extent. If we understand that and draw the correct conclusions, the situation will return to normal. [end recording]

Armenia's Operational Staff Reviews Situation

26 Jan Meeting

NC2601205390 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1700 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] The regular meeting of the Operational Staff attached to the republican council on the special situation took place on 26 January under the chairmanship of Vladimir Movsisyan, first deputy chairman of the Armenian Council of Ministers. It discussed numerous questions. In particular, it was indicated that the tension is higher in the regions bordering Azerbaijan. [words indistinct], despite that, a number of provocative acts have been committed on the territory of the neigboring republic. Thus, [name indistinct] Armenian village in Ghapanskiy Rayon came under fire. As a result, two inhabitants were wounded. (?Criminal proceedings have been instituted) in connection with this attack.

(?The meetings between the representatives of Armenia and Nakhichevan) are trying to normalize life in the border regions. The negotiations held at Yeraskh resulted in an agreement to cease (?fighting) in the region. At the suggestion of the operational staff, the negotiations will continue on 27 January on a number of other problems.

Regular flights are being made to Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] and Armenian-inhabited regions of Azerbaijan. Foodstuffs and vital goods are being taken there. Assurances have been given that in the coming days, the Goris-Lachin road will be opened.

People are continuing to hand in their weapons.

A sincere and practical discussion took place with Galoyan, secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, at today's meeting at Yerevan-Leninskiy Rayon party aktiv on the situation prevailing in Transcaucasia and in the region as a whole and the urgent problems facing the party grass roots organizations. Gustin, first secretary of Yerevan-Leninskiy Rayon party committee, opened the meeting with a speech.

Comrade Galoyan briefed the meeting in detail about the situation prevailing in the Armenian republic and about the concrete measures to stabilize the situation. It was indicated that the reason behind the prevailing situation in the region is not the legitimate problem of reunifying NKAO with Armenia but instead the policy of discrimination that has been pursued wittingly or unwittingly for decades. The republic's leadership was able to explain the essence of the problem with utmost difficulty before the various tribunals and at the highest levels. It walked along with the people and expressed their wishes and aspirations.

27 Jan Statement

NC2701203590 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1700 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] The negotiations held at Yeraskh on 27 January by representatives of the army and informal organization of the republic with the Azerbaijani side [word indistinct] aimed at stabilizing the situation along the border of the two republics. This was stated by the special situation Operational Staff attached to the republican council.

On the other hand, dangerous (?incidents) have taken place. The Azerbaijani side fired on Ghapanskiy Rayon, wounding two people.

In general, the situation in the border regions of Armenia can be described as relatively calm and improving, but the statement issued by the Armenian Internal Affairs Ministry on the incidents which took place yesterday in Yerevan and neighboring regions left a somewhat (?negative) impression.

Here are some examples mentioned at the meeting: Unidentified persons in Yerevan opened fire on a [word indistinct] vehicle in the early hours of 27 January. Fortunately, there were no serious consequences. An embezzler, who dealt in large sums of money, was arrested. Another crime was committed in Artashatskiy Rayon where a group of people demanded a large amount of money from their victim, who they then stabbed. Another dangerous incident took place at the entrance to one of the buildings in Yerevan [word indistinct] where some unidentified people detonated a [words indistinct].

As was mentioned at the meeting, all the vital sectors are under control both in Armenia, Nagorno-karabakh autonomous oblast [NKAO], as well as in the Armenian settlements in Azerbaijan. Regular flights are being made to Stepanakert, Getashen, and Shaumyanov. Helicopters are bringing in food, industrial goods, and medicine. Telephone links with the NKAO are operating. Measures are being taken to enable the reception of the Armenian television programs in the NKAO independently of Shusha.

Medical assistance is being rendered to Azerbaijan evacuees. Yerevan doctors are working on permanent [word indistinct] bases in the Armenian settlements in Azerbaijan. They are using their own (?equipments) and medicine.

Azerbaijani extremists continue their blockade of the railway. The Union and central [word indistinct] are taking measures to lift the blockade of routes through Azerbaijan.

Train transportation via (?Shadaglu), which had resumed following repair of tracks destroyed by the extremists, has been interrupted again. Tracks have been destroyed again; several locomotives were derailed.

The Operational Staff advised that negotiations continue with representatives of Azerbaijan for the establishment of durable peace in border regions. It instructed law enforcement bodies to cooperate with informal organizations in drawing up measures to [words indistinct] and protect the population from extremists' hostile acts. The staff ordered the further development of air transportation in order to continue supply of essential goods to the NKAO and Armenian villages in azerbaijan.

Weapons are still being turned in throughout the republic. Guns [words indistinct] have been returned to Leninakan pilots.

Armenian Council Reviews Situation 27 Jan

NC2701190490 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1700 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] The republican council on the special situation met on 27 January under the chairmanship of Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee.

Comrade Arutyunyan briefed the council about the results of his visits to Noyemberynaskiy and Idzhevanskiy Rayons during which [words indistinct] consultations took place with the local party and economic aktiv concerning the difficulties (?faced) by the republic, ways of overcoming them, and measures to normalize the situation. It was indicated that tension persists in Armenian regions and people are still concerned about the fate of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and seriously upset by the ongoing economic (?blockade).

It was also pointed out at the republican council that city and rayon party committees, soviets of people's deputies, and public organizations and associations are continuing to (?exert efforts to stabilize the situation).

Voluntary contributions are being made in the republic to the funds for assisting the refugees from Baku and the families of servicemen.

Dear listeners, detailed information about the 27 January meeting of the republican council on the special situation will be published in the press.

Baku Residents Continue Military Protest Strike

AU2901103590 Paris AFP in English 1022 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Moscow, Jan 29 (AFP)—A protest strike by the population of Baku, the Azerbaijani capital, against the Soviet military occupation continued Monday, nationalist and official sources in Baku said.

"Nobody is working. We will carry on until they (the troops) leave," said the wife of Popular Front official Iossif Samed Oglu, contacted by telephone as the protest action entered a second week.

An official at the Baku parliament confirmed that the strike was continuing Monday in the city of almost two million, although the underground metro system and essential services were working. [passage omitted]

Armenians Return Stolen Weapons Voluntarily

LD2801142890 Moscow TASS in English 1338 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Text] Yerevan January 28 TASS—By TASS special correspondents:

The situation in Soviet Armenia is being gradually normalised. Armenian Interior Ministry communiques report about the voluntary handover of weapons by the population.

A person, who did not identify himself, telephoned Yerevan's Erebuni Airport to tell that a paper-bag was left for militiamen at the chief entrance to the airport. The bag appeared to contain 14 earlier stolen pistols.

Two days ago eight pistols were returned to the Internal Affaris Department of Leninakans Shirak Airport.

"Returning part of the stolen weapons has been the natural result of the explanatory work conducted by our staff among the population, especially among youth," Rafael Aslanyan, Political Department head of the Armenian Interior Ministry, told TASS.

One hundred and forty five pistols, 22 service rifles, two carbines, about 1,500 hunting guns, over 5,000 cartridges, three personnel armoured vehicles, five practice howitzers, a training mortar, and 12 trucks were handed in to the Interior Ministry bodies in the past week.

The Council on the Emergency Situation met in Yerevan and was addressed by Armenian Communist Party leader Suren Arutyunyan, the republican KOMMUNIST newspaper reported today.

Other speakers at the session noted that the working people of the republic show goodwill and understanding in meeting Soviet Army units arriving at there border areas, and see in them the guarantee of security, peace and tranquility.

NKAO Organizing Committee Starts Work

LD2801172390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1507 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Text] Baku, 28 Jan (TASS)—A group of members of the Azerbaijan Republic's organizing committee in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] has started work in Stepanakert. Their meeting with representatives from the office of the military commandant of the area covered by the state of emergency in the autonomous oblast was held in the building of the former oblast committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party. During the conversation several issues were examined concerning the coordination of joint actions to normalize the situation in the region, safeguard the security of the population of the oblast and carry out in full the demands of the USSR Supreme Soviet decision of 28 November 1989 on measures to normalize the situation in the NKAO as well as the decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium of 15 January 1990 declaring a state of emergency in NKAO and several other areas.

It was noted that work has started in the oblast to check passport procedures and throw out anyone without a residence permit of the autonomous oblast's population points, to find and confiscate firearms, knives, and ammunition, and remove road blocks.

Armenia, Azerbaijan Situation Reviewed

Moscow TV 28 Jan

LD2801201790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Video Report by Igor Kudrin from Baku on 28 January; from "Seven Days" newscast presented by Aleksandr Tikhomirov—recorded]

[Text] [video opens with view of Kudrin against view above city] There was a time when if you were off on a trip to Baku, friends and acquaintances, instead of understandable envy, would shake your hand with sympathy, what with the state of emergency there, the army, people shooting there. The city that had always been so welcoming and attractive would greet you with the stern faces of its inhabitants, military patrols and the noise of helicopters, the unkind winter sun lighting up the green of the parks and of the armor of tanks. I shall say straight away that now, in the past few days, shooting in Baku is very rare. I myself have heard the crackle of automatic fire only once.

Of course, the decision to introduce a state of emergency, the steps taken in accordance with it, and the curfew have put their stamp on the whole outlook of the Azerbaijani capital. Normally on Sundays adults would stroll here from the morning onward, and children's laughter would be heard. Today all you see on the boulevards are occasional silent passers-by, and perhaps someone bringing flowers, piles of flowers, to the places where people died following the introduction of the state of emergency. They lost their lives in varying circumstances which are still being elucidated, but does this really reduce the grief? [video shows armored personnel carriers and army trucks in a town square; a few people strolling in park; flowers placed in road opposite line of army vehicles]

The appearance of troops on the streets brought order. Many inhabitants of Baku began to feel secure. The arrest of 30 participants in pogroms and riots and the confiscation of weapons was reported. It seemed that one could catch one's breath. But the anguish remains in people's souls, which do not obey orders from outside. The hospitality and warmth of Baku's inhabitants have given place to worry, depression, and indignation. Tormented by prolonged interethnic conflict, tired of disorder and shortages, people are extremely on edge, and on top of this there are all kinds of rumors and distortions. They pass by word of mouth, they spread from street to street, they creep into the houses and apartments. Some people finally lose their calm and cease to heed the voice of reason. [video shows armored personnel carriers moving along street, then small crowd gathered around Kudrin on a street corner] It is a thankless task in such days to find oneself on the streets of Baku carrying a television camera. It is virtually impossible to film. You are immediately surrounded, and they express their accumulated bitterness and grievances hotly and passionately. No, this is not by any means an outburst of the southern temperament, it is an expression of deeply embedded popular grief, their common pain and distress. [video shows people in crowd pointing at newspaper article]

The excited crowd also voices to its complaints about the mass media. Yes, we journalists have also made mistakes in our reports. Now it is obvious that among those who died in January were both women and children; that no-one was contemplating the training of guerrillas in local DOSAAF [Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation, and Navy] school's; that the tactics of partisan war are not being applied in the city; and that the memorial to Kirov stands unharmed, untouched. Not a single Russian person has suffered here since 20 January, but nevertheless, Russians continue to leave, although this stream is reducing somewhat. Who is to blame for this fresh interethnic discord? It is difficult to give any unambiguous answer, but Baku's residents react very painfully to the attempt to drive a wedge between Azebaijanis and Russians. From all sides, official and unofficial, you hear the passionate appeal: Do not leave!

[Unidentified woman] This is a provocation. We have never driven anyone away, not anybody. The Russians know it. We have lived with them like sisters.

[Second unidentified woman] Nobody is doing us any harm. They are all looking after us, they treat us with great respect. I am 72. My children are here, my grandchildren. We live very well. So it is all propaganda. The military families—I do not know why, what the reason is, why they are leaving. We don't know. But we are living very well. We have lived and are living well. And will live thus. [Video cuts to Kudrin with Maj-Gen A.I. Kirilyuk, identified by screen caption as deputy commandant of city of Baku]

[Kudrin] Why did the panic suddenly start, why are people continuing to leave Baku?

[Kirilyuk] I shall tell you frankly that even those who have left Baku do not identify the threats that were to be heard with the way things are with the Azerbaijani people. Whoever I have had occasion to talk to, they all have very warm and pleasant memories in their hearts. But the fact that there is also a handful of some renegades or other that carry out pogroms and make threats, this does not mean they are the Azerbaijani people. It is simply that people, taking into account the temporary situation that has come about in Baku, probably reckoned—and I am sure this is a temporary thing—that they should leave until the city calms down. This should not have an influence on relations between Russians and Azerbaijanis. I think it is our common task to do everything possible for these relations to be as they were previously.

[Kudrin] So, you could say that this was panic, and you could say it was temporary panic?

[Kirilyuk] Yes, temporary, I am deeply confident of that. Their apartments are still there, their families are still there, and people will comeback. We have to settle down.

[Kudrin] What would you, for example, like to wish the members of the families of your officers who may be listening to our program? [Kirilyuk] Do not worry, and wait until you meet your relatives, your fathers....

[Kudrin, interrupting] In Baku?

[Kirilyuk] In Baku, of course. Until you meet your neighbors, your friends, your comrades.

[Kudrin] [video shows streets scenes, views of harbor] It is a nonworking day in Baku. But this phrase sounds silly here today. The nonworking days in the capital and beyond it have already stretched to a week. The cranes in the port have fallen silent, dozens of trains are caught up on the railroads. There is quiet in the schools and state offices. Only an insignificant proportion of enterprises are working. It will take about a year to bring the famous oilfields back to work. What an unexpected and painful blow for our already sick economy, for our hopes for restructuring! But all the same, Baku's residents must get back to normal.

The papers are being printed again in Baku, and last night the television screens lit up again in people's homes. The new leadership of the republic has proclaimed a course for getting out of the crisis, a course of renaissance. [video shows man speaking on television, then further street scenes]

More and more buses and trolleys are running, and they have managed to clear the problem of fuel supplies. Bread has not disappeared from the shops, as was feared. [video shows people in bakery] Members of the Popular Front have helped the local authorities here. But how many problems remain? Uncertainty, fear, distrust live on in people's hearts. It is clear that the fratricide, the mutual hostility, have not brought anyone either happiness or peace. And one so much wants the bitter page of the people's history to be turned as soon as possible. Meanwhile, Baku is living out its uneasy, freezing January.

TASS: 'Gradually Normalizing'

LD2801124490 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1140 GMT 28 Jan 90

["About situation in Azerbiajan and Armenia (including latest USSR Internal Affairs updates)—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 28 Jan (TASS)—The situation in Azerbaijan and Armenia is gradually normalizing. A TASS correspondent was informed today at the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry that subunits of internal troops and the Soviet Army are undertaking measures toward normalization of the position in Azerbaijan with the assistance of the public. Enterprises with a continuous cycle, and vital-service installations have been working fully in the past 24 hours. The metro is functioning in Baku and urban transport has gone into service. No clashes on interethnic grounds have been registered.

At the same time, according to data from the USSR Internal Affairs ministry, antisocial activity of the extremist groupings of the National Front of Azerbaijan continues to have a destabilizing influence on the situation in the republic's capital.

In the past 24 hours, 56 people have been detained in Azerbaijan for violating the curfew. One hundred and twenty-five people have been arrested for 30 days.

Sixty-one training submachine guns and 3 grenade launchers, which were stolen earlier from the agricultural institute's military department, have now been recovered in the city of Gyandzha, as a result of adopted measures. Three revolvers, 1 pistol, and 125 cartridges for them, which were stolen from the guard premises of the Azerbaijanian hydroelectric power station's militarized guard, have been discovered by internal affairs bodies in the town of Mingechaur.

A total of 185 freight trains remain idle on the Azerbaijan Railway; 120 of them are headed for Armenia.

The situation in the Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic is also stabilizing. Measures are being adopted to reinforce public order and this is being done with the support of the population.

In Stepanakert, Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, a meeting has taken place at the military commandant's office between representatives of the republican organizing committee for the normalization of the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and the command of a military subunit. the prevention of interethnic conflicts was discussed at the meeting.

Fourteen people were detained for curfew breaches. As a result of an operation carried out in the settlement of Kirkidzhan: in two houses fitted with firing-slits a large store of food was discovered and a home-made cannon, shotguns, over 500 cartridges, 6 kg of shot, and bladed weapons were seized. Thirty-five people were detained. Arms were not used during the operation.

Two trains carrying national-economy freight have arrived at Stepanakert railway station.

The seizure and voluntary surrender of previously stolen weapons and ammunition continues in Armenia. In the past 24 hours an antihail device and 200 projectiles for it have been returned, as well as a submachine gun, 8 pistols, 1 revolver, and 4 rifles.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 27 Jan

PM2901095590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 27 Jan 90 First Edition p 5

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA special correspondent Lieutenant Colonel V. Kosarev report: "Armenia: Reason Is Gaining Upper Hand"]

[Text] The situation in the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] is still extremely complex. Although there are more facts every day persuading us that it is gradually stabilizing. This morning I telephoned Colonel A. Sarkisov, chief of the Armenian Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] Organizational Inspection Directorate, who receives all the up-to-the-minute information on the republic every minute. He reported that the number of attacks on militia and internal troop facilities with a view to stealing weapons has dropped considerably. The voluntary surrender of previously seized weapons is continuing. According to MVD reports, approximately 2,000 combat weapons have already been returned (approximately 5,000 were seized). Even members of the republic's most bellicose informal organization—the Armenian National Army—are returning weapons and combat hardware.

Whereas quite recently rallies of many thousands of people were held in Yerevan every day, for 2 days in succession the capital's Theater Square has been practically deserted. A short informational rally was held yesterday at which members of the Armenian National Movement Board announced the truce secured at the talks in the settlement of Yeraskh, Araratskiy Rayon, between the combatant sides. The border between the Armenian SSR and the Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic is quiet, not even isolated shots are to be heard.

The path to a cease-fire agreement was no easy one. The talks were disrupted on 2 days—Nakhichevan's representatives failed to turn up, their justification being, according to ARMENPRESS, that their autonomous republic had left the Soviet Union and they had not yet obtained authorization from the "new authorities."

At the latest sessions of the Republic Council on the State of Emergency and its operations staff it was noted once again that the publication of unverified facts, rumors, and simply disinformation by some press organs is fueling the situation in the republic to a very great degree. Specific examples were cited to confirm this. For instance, a wave of indignation was aroused by the claim that there have been instances of the local population oppressing the Kurds. These fabrications have been convincingly exposed on television and in the local press.

Troop subunits are still arriving in the region in order to further stabilize the situation in the border regions and to avert possible clashes. I was told by Colonel Yu. Numan, senior inspector at the Ground Forces Political Directorate and member of the USSR Defense Ministry operations group, that the troops are coming to relieve the drafted soldiers, who have fulfilled their missions and returned home, and to guard bridges, tunnels, railroads, and other facilities.

It has become known that the Armenian National Movement Board has appealed to all self-defense detachments in the border areas not to impede the troops' progress.

Yerevan International Commentary

NC2701215390 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 2130 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Commentary by journalist Amasya Ovanesyan: "For Whom the Bell Tolls"]

[Text] The blockade of Armenia and the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] is continuing. New groups of Armenian refugees are arriving at Yerevan's Zvartnots airport. The mass media, such as PRAVDA, IZVESTIYA, and the "Vremya" program on

Moscow television, are providing misleading information to the people. There is a blatant effort to exacerbate the political crisis in the region. Whose interests does this serve? It serves powerful forces who have put on the mask of restructurers and democrats. The so-called interethnic problem in Transcaucasia—and by this I mean not only the Azerbaijani-Armenian armed clashes, but also the bloody incidents taking place in Georgia, Abkhazia, and the northern Caucasus—provides a convenient excuse for explaining the failures in introducing changes in the country's social and political life and the prevailing economic crisis.

Let us return to the NKAO problem which disturbs us and to the consequences and bloody [word indistinct] resulting from the criminal postponment of its political solution. Two years ago, the Armenians of Artsakh [NKAO], believing in the announced policy of democratization, appealed to the center and requested reunification with Armenia, their motherland. In reply, an article about a group of extremists suddenly appeared. This article was the (?continuation) of a shameless injustice which was upheld by those who criticized the injustices of Stalinism, those who tried to repair the devastation inherited from the period of [word indistinct]. There should be no victors or vanquished in the solution of the NKAO problem—this was uttered by the highest [word indistinct] with such self-congratulation and conceit that you would think it was the discovery of the century and as though Armenians were not already the defeated side, as though there is not a section of the Armenian population which has been forcibly detached from their native people. This Stalinist distortion must be corrected if a new road of justice is actually being traveled, if there is at least the intention of creating a law-based state out of the unjust society which has come down to us from the Stalinist despotism.

What conclusion should one draw from that so-called epoch-making statement by Yevgeniy Primako, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, that history is unable to confirm who the real owners of Artsakh are. If this were said by an academician would we have been puzzled or enraged or would we have accepted this ignobility? After all, history has been constantly distorted for the last 7 decades and was taught according to the demands of the time.

For 7 decades history was (?detached) from scientific methodology. Otherwise, Primakov and others, as well as the devoted servants in the mass media who take their cue from the conductor of such people, would not have tried to convince a people with 2,000-years of history behind them that we have lived with neighboring Azerbaijan in peace and harmony for centuries, that the two peoples share the same roots, and that even if now the Siamese twins could be separated in a successful operation it is still impossible to separate their (?shared) blood. Let me add that the author of this last discovery is appearently (?Sakalayov), chief editor of the main news editorial department at Moscow television. Anyway, he was the one who put forward this absurdity during the "7 Days" program on Sunday.

As for the academician-scientists, I do not think that they are ignorant of the fact that Azerbaijan is an entity which came into being as a result of the establishment of the Soviet regime in the former Russian empire. Until then, Azerbaijanis were described as Tatars or Turks. Even Lenin, the founder of the communist party and the Soviet state, referred to them as such. Of course, they know this. I hope they will allow me to state that the Azerbaijani trump card is far more important to them than historical truth. It is already obvious to all what that trump card led to. Those who preached reconciliation with the de facto situation created over the last 70 years and spoke against turning back the wheel of history in fact expected such an outcome.

There are facts which one has to face. I have in mind the failure to make a political assessment of, and thus to condemn, the genocide organized against the Armenians in the Azerbaijani city of Sumgait from which sprang the other bandit attacks of our supposed centuries-old fraternal neighbors against the peaceful population in the border regions. How can one forget the threats about unforeseeable consequences, the attempts of the union news media to put the victim and victimizer on the same level [words indistinct], the often outright inclination in favor of Azerbaijanis, Azerbaijan's blockade of Armenia and the NKAO in the face of the silence of the fraternal republics and indecisive stance of the center, the stillborn and unacceptable decisions on the NKAO problem, the [word indistinct] brigand attack on the Soviet-Iranian border all along Azerbaijani territory, and finally the genocide organized against the Armenians in Baku?

Here is what the French L'HUMANITE has written, which was published in the 23 January issue of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA: The analysis of the events which took place in Baku and on the Turkish and Iranian borders show that rather than being isolated events, they were meticulously prepared.

Yes, they were premeditated acts. Pan-Turkism is in action. The incidents taking place at present in Baku and in other cities and settlements of Azerbaijan can only be examined within this framework. The anti-Armenian hysteria was needed to provoke emotions to the utmost and the massacres and atrocities committed against the Armenians—as a necessary move to remove the main impediment to creating a pan-Turkistic great Turan—has now extended to other foreign nationals in that republic. Now, as you hear our broadcast, all Russian-speaking and Jewish citizens and the members of the families of the Soviet Army servicemen in Baku and elsewhere are under threat from the bandit leaders of the so-called local Popular Front.

The warning bells tolling in Armenia for the last 2 years had, at best, been unheard or were met with with advice from the center about the so-called internationalism, thus adding grist to the mill of the Turkish-Azerbaijani hordes and the [word indistinct] scientists of type of Ziya Punyatova [Azerbaijani historian]. This mill produces all sorts of historical and cultural fraud. When this fraud was not condemned in a timely manner, it transformed itself into a raging monster. After settling the account with the Armenians, the gray wolves [words indistinct] and lauchned an open anti-Soviet struggle [passage indistinct].

Press Center Announcement

LD2701113590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] A report from Baku.

The situation in the city is gradually stabilizing, and the refuelling of state and public transport has been ensured. According to GAI [State Motor Vehicle Inspectorate] information, 800 buses and other kinds of surface public transport were operating yesterday. No one created any obstacles to their moving around the city.

Among the Russian population, personnel from the commandant's office and the law-enforcement, party, and soviet bodies are carrying out explanatory work, [saying] that nothing is threatening them. However, despite frequent messages from the city commandant to the population, calling for handing in weapons, they continue to be used for criminal purposes. For example, in Nasiminskiy Rayon, a military vehicle came under fire from a passing vehicle. A soldier was wounded. Yesterday, in Kirovskiy Rayon, in the hours of darkness, a citizen was noticed by a troop detail, running with an automatic rifle in his hands. An attempt was made to stop him. He fired and managed to hide in a building under construction. In order to avoid the loss of innocent lives, the building was cordoned off. An operation is under way to detain him. Overnight, 102 persons were detained during the curfew period. The law-and-order forces are continuing the work of creating normal conditions for the lives and labor activity of the population.

That was a USSR Foreign Affairs Ministry Press Center announcement.

Internal Ministry Update

LD2601132790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Excerpts] First, the latest report from the Ministry of Internal Affairs Press Center in Baku.

The situation in the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic remains complicated. [passage omitted]

An appeal has been broadcast on republican radio by the intelligentsia and elders of the city of Baku condemning the rumors that are being spread about the unlawful activities with regard to other nationalities. In the Narimanovskiy Rayon of the city an appeal by the rayon committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party has been circulated on keeping calm and exercising restraint, on maintaining friendly relations between Azerbaijanis and the Russian-speaking population. [passage omitted]

The city's commandant addressed an appeal to the working people not to give way to the provocation and threats by irresponsible people who incite the working people of Azerbaijan to wreckless action and who are trying to satisfy their ambitions at any price.

The moral and political spirit of the staff of the internal affairs bodies of Baku is healthy. At the Narimanovskiy and Kirovskiy (?district party offices) a number of members of staff submitted requests to be accepted as members of the party. At the same time, in Belokany, Dzhebrail, Fizuli, Ali-Bayramly and a number of other towns and districts some citizens are giving up their party membership cards. Among the staff of the internal affairs bodies there have been no such cases.

Agitation groups have been formed from among staff members of the city rayon internal affairs bodies. They are operating locally and are conducting an active dialogue with the population with a view to scotching all kinds of rumors and normalizing the situation.

Vilnius Radio Correspondent

LD2601141290 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1100 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Excerpts] [presenter] Apart from what you can read in the press about the situation in Transcaucasia, we have fresh news. A group of journalists has left for Transcaucasia and our journalist Arminas Laucius phoned the editorial office today to give today's news and his assessments. Arminas Laucius from Baku:

[Laucius] I have to say that information is [words indistinct]. All the inhabitants of Baku say one thing, and the servicemen something different. It is difficult to establish the truth. Let us start from the general state of affairs. Today, as compared with yesterday, tension has decreased on the streets. More vehicles are on the streets and vehicles damaged by tanks are being removed.

[Presenter] Is the curfew still in force?

[Laucius] The curfew is still in force. According to the Muslim custom each Thursday, and this was yesterday, the dead are being honored. All who lost their lives during these events have been buried in Kirov Park. What can I say about the number of victims? Heated discussions have been taking place about this since the very first day. The Azerbaijanis maintain that many bodies are hidden in the ships and that they will be taken away and burned. I cannot confirm this information. So far it is not clear how many dead there are.

[Presenter] What is the mood of the people? We have heard that the attitude toward the Army is negative.

[Laucius] They have a negative attitude toward the Army, but they realize that these are not the same army units which entered the city on that day. One realizes this listening to soldiers and officers. They explain that they came later. They say that the partisans [as heard] came because they had long hair and beards. Some of them explain that these men were drunk. I cannot confirm this, but it is a fact that different units have been withdrawn.

[Presenter] We heard that the commander appealed to the people?

[Laucius] He asked the people to return to work, but it is difficult to say when work will resume. The strike continues. It is a general strike. People say that the Peoples Front has gone underground.

[Presenter] How are the party leaders reacting?

[Laucius] It looks as if there is no party. Its presence is not felt here at all. A plenum has taken place and a new secretary has been elected but we have no more information about this. Everything is being taken care of by the military. [passage omitted containing indistinct portion] At present people are losing their lives by accident, but the number is small. [passage indistinct]

MVD Update

LD2601141690 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1325 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, 26 Jan (TASS)—A special TASS correspondent reports:

The situation in Azerbaijan and Armenia remains tense. As a TASS correspondent was told at the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] today, strikes continued throughout the past 24 hours in practically all the towns and rayons of Azerbaijan. Only the enterprises and vital facilities were operating. The Azerbaijani railway continues to be blockaded: 199 freight trains were idle at the railway by the end of the past 24 hour period. Of these, 113 are destined for Armenia.

Even though an accord was reached during the past 24 hours to cease fire along the border between Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic and Armenia and the situation there is under control, armed clashes were noted yesterday in a number of other rayons of Azerbaijan. Thus, the village of Gazangi, Zangelanskiy Rayon, came under fire. There was an exchange of fire in the town of Neftechaly. In the town of Udzhary, a rally was organized; the participants of the rally demanded, in the form of an ultimatum, that those employed at the party rayon committee and the rayon executive committee should destroy their party cards. The party rayon committee suspended its work temporarily.

In the town of Lenkoran, a group of extremists burned documents in the party town committee; the Kirov monument has been destroyed.

Internal troops and the Soviet Army servicemen took measures in Nagorno-Karabakh to clear obstructions from motor vehicle roads. Passenger bus traffic along the Stepanakert-Agdam-Askeran route was resumed on 25 January; buses are being escorted by internal troops. Work to clear obstructions on the Stepanakert-Mardakert road is under way. No cases of clashes, arson, or pogroms were registered in Nagorno-Karabakh during the past 24 hours.

The past day was also relatively calm in Armenia, where on 25 January not a single attack on facilities to seize arms was registered. At the same time 37 shotguns, 22 rifles, and a pistol were returned to one of the rayon stations of the republican militia.

As has already been reported, as a result of sabotage to the track near the Sadakhlo station of the Transcaucasian railway, there was a passenger train crash, in which 27 passengers were injured. According to the data of the USSR MVD, traffic has now been resumed. During the past 24 hours, 13 trains, including 230 tanker wagons carrying petroleum products, went through the Sadakhlo station.

TASS Correspondents 26 Jan

LD2601141990 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1246 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Baku, 26 Jan (TASS)—TASS special correspondents Aleksandr Budris and Vladimir Fomin report:

The sky cleared today over the Azerbaijani capital for the first time after several days. Changes are not just taking place in the weather. There are signs of improvement in the situation in the city, too. One is convinced of this from the reports by Lieutenant-General Vladimir Dubinyak, the military commandant of Baku, who said that the last 2 nights in Baku have passed off relatively quietly. The situation is being monitored by the forces of law and order.

Although the radio has reported the arrest of violators of public order and of the curfew in Baku, the confiscation of arms and ammunition, firing can be no longer be heard at night. In the morning, looking out of the hotel window, we noticed that the armored equipment has been removed from the central square in front of the government building. True, military vehicles are outside the building of the sea terminal and in front of several other establishments. However, the situation in the city is no longer comparable with what it was here quite recently.

True, many enterprises are still not working. There are many people on the streets. Groups are still gathering, but now the topics of discussion have changed. They are talking about the need to preserve unity and not to give in to provocation by those who want to drive a wedge between people of different nationalities living in Baku. Food shops and bread shops are operating. The boards reading "closed" have been taken down from most of the public catering establishments. Transport is working partially. Many vehicles line the sides of the roads; there is a shortage of petrol.

One is aware of the shortage of foodstuffs. There are queues at the dairies. But the longest queues we saw were at the newspaper kiosks which opened for the first time in recent days. On sale there are issues of the newspapers BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian and SEKHER in Azerbaijani which appeared yesterday after a break of several days. The television is still silent: Its power supply was put out of action during the recent events.

As a reminder of the victims of those days red carnations lie on several of the streets and squares and black flags fly throughout the city, although the official period of mourning ended 2 days ago. The smashed signboards have not yet been cleared away and broken appartment windows loom like yawning black holes.

The local radio has just broadcast another report by the city commandant: "No serious violations of public order have been recorded in the city during the first half of the day."

Area 'Under Control'

LD2601202690 Moscow TASS in English 1957 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 26 TASS—The past two nights were relatively calm in Baku. The situation is under control. This report by Lieutenant General Vladimir Dubinyak, military commandant, this morning accords with conclusions drawn by TASS special correspondents who note that the signs of an improvement of the situation have appeared in the city. No shooting was heard last night.

Armoured vehicles were removed from the central square outside the government house. However, there still are military vehicles outside the building of sea terminal and some other administrative and state institutions.

Food and baker's shops are reopening. The baglydyr (closed) signs are being removed from public catering establishments. Transport is partially in operation. The tonality and topics of conversations on the streets and at meetings are changing.

People say increasingly often that one should not yield to provocations by those who are driving a wedge between Baku residents of various nationalities.

A shortage of food is still felt. There are queues outside dairy shops but the longest queues are near news-stands which have reopened for the first time in recent days. On sale are the Thursday [25 January] issues of the BAKINSKY RABOCHI newspaper in Russian and SEHER (morning) newspaper in Azerbaijani.

There are many vehicles on the roadsides for lack of petrol. Television screens remain silent so far.

However, there is still an inward tension behind outward calm. The leaders of militant groups, unwilling to put up with the failure of their criminal actions, try to stir up anti-Soviet, anti-party and anti-army sentiments.

They hinder efforts to resume and ensure the operation of enterprises, transport services, educational establishments and news media. Attempts are being made to distribute leaflets with provocative contents.

Baku residents become increasingly active. They are prepared to give the necessary assistance to authorities and military command in the maintenance of the public order.

Representatives of the public are calling on city residents to make a sober estimate of the situation and to restore order and normal life.

Republican radio broadcast an address by Baku intellectuals and elders who condemned provocative rumours that stir up inter-ethnic strife. The need to urgently resolve the arisen problems was voiced, the militants' actions were condemned, and calls for mutual understanding were issued.

According to a report by the Baku military commandant, over the past 24 hours, two people were detained for crimes, 34 for acts punishable under administrative law, and 111 for violating the curfew.

One grenade, 284 hunting-gun cartridges, and four blank weapons were confiscated. Troops did not use weapons, the commandant pointed out.

The main seats of tension that were being established by armed militants have been eliminated. As a result of energetic actions of Interior Ministry troops, State Security Committee and Soviet army units on January 26, leaders of militant groups were detained in a number of cities of Azerbaijan.

A plan for the seizure of important administrative buildings as well as prisons and isolation wards in Baku by "Popular Front" militants was foiled.

More than 1,000 sets of military uniform and a large amount of ammunition was discovered at Popular Front headquarters, in addition to lists of telephones, names and addresses, savings-bank certificates, passports and Armenians' personal belongings that turned up in the hands of Popular Front members after rampaging.

In Jalilabad District, commandos neutralized a group of armed terrorists from among the local committee of the so-called "National Defence". Eleven militants were detained.

Two railway trains with building materials and food arrived at the Stepanakert railway station today. The bus services between some residential areas of the region were resumed, with the passenger buses being so far accompanied by the military. The telephone communication was resumed from January 26.

A large proportion of the Nagorno-Karabakh population positively regarded the introduction of the state of emergency in the region, aware of the entire danger of the development of the inter-ethnic conflict.

But some irresponsible elements are trying to interfere with the normalisation process. A television station at Shusha broadcast a number of programmes of nationalist, anti-Soviet contents, for which the military commandant issued an official warning to the director of the television centre.

In all, the authorities detained seven activists of the so-called "Karabakh Movement" for inciting actions in Stepanakert. These measures have been regarded by the Armenian and Azerbaijani population on the whole as promoting the stabilisation of the situation.

Much still hinders the easing of tension in the republic. More than 33,000 railway carriages stand idle because locomotive crews do not report to work, and more than 200 freight trains bound for the Azerbaijan railway are immobilized on the railways of the northern Caucasus. The seaport is out of operation just as a majority of enterprises.

Work is being done to ease tension at the boundary between Armenia and the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic. There were no instances of the seizure of arms in Armenia on January 25. Representatives of militants, however, tried to offer a large sum of money to the command of a military unit for a transfer of weapons to them.

Order is being gradually established on the state border, but tension is still keeping on. Over the past 24 hours, 64 transgressors of the border were detained. A border patrol detained two Iranians who tried to cross the border with an eye to smuggling deals. Money, hunting guns and other objects were confiscated from them.

Some figures of the "Popular Fronts" and other informal groups are trying to make political capital on the tragedy of the Armenian- Azerbaijani conflict.

They are busy spreading allegations about mass killings of citizens in Transcaucasia and fabricate statements trying to shift the blame for the crisis from militants to the military and central authorities. Such actions only heat up the situation and cannot but give rise to bewilderment and legitimate indigation among honest people.

Gradual Stabilization

LD2901082490 Moscow TASS in English 0755 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 29 TASS—By TASS correspondents from Azerbaijan and Armenia:

The situation in Azerbaijan and Armenia is being gradually stabilized. Law and order maintenance forces, Interior Ministry troops and Soviet Army units are taking measures to normalize it with the assistance of the public.

Baku. Over the past 24 hours, enterprises with the continuous production cycle and vital facilities operated at full capacity. Underground railway is functioning and public transport services have been resumed in the main.

There were no clashes on an inter-ethnic basis. Voluntary associations of citizens are being set up with active participation of reservists for the maintenance of order.

A destabilizing influence is being exerted by militant groups that continue to spread false rumours and are trying to undermine the prestige of local government bodies. Leaflets calling for civil disobedience are being distributed.

About 10,000 leaflets of provocative contents were confiscated at Shmidt plant that served as one of the militants' "headquarters."

Lenkoran. The activities of party and local government bodies have been restored. Enterprises, organisations and institutions are functioning. Party activists and residents of the city had a meeting with commanders and political officers of the border detachment in Lenkoran.

They jointly worked out specific measures to stabilise the situation. Militants that tried to interfere with the process were driven out of the premises by city residents themselves.

Nakhichevan. All industrial and building enterprises and organisations are operating and transport is functioning normally. The publication of the regional newspaper was resumed after a weeklong interval.

During the investigation of the activities of the extremist wing of the Azerbaijan Popular Front, state security committee personnel detained Allakhverdiyev and Asadov, leaders of the Popular Front board of Ilyichovsky District, who had weapons with them, and Ismailov, one of the leaders of the Popular Front group in Baku with forged passport and indentity card. An investigation is under way.

At the same time the situation in the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic still remain complex.

Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region. Motor traffic has resumed. In Stepanakert, representatives of the republican organising committee for the normalisation of the situation in the region met military command. Matters connected with the prevention of inter- ethnic conflicts were discussed.

In Armenia, a hail control gun, 200 shells for it, a submachine gun, eight pistols, a nagant revolver, and four rifles were handed in over the past 24 hours.

The formation of groups of militants is going on in various parts of the republic, and thefts of weapons do not cease.

There is mounting concern in the republic in connection with the availability of a large amount of stolen weapons that wind up in the hands of criminal elements.

Reports from the Soviet-Iranian border more and more often mention the reassessment of the state of affairs in the region by the population. Farmers, workers, veterans, directors of farms and industrial plants request the command and political bodies of border troops to help them and defend them from militants. In a number of border villages the residents set up voluntary teams to protect themselves from criminals' encroachments.

Over the past 24 hours, 80 border crossers were detained.

Becoming Stable

LD2801200490 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1720 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, 28 Jan (TASS)—TASS correspondents report from Azerbaijan and Armenia:

The situation in these Soviet Transcaucasian republics is gradually becoming stable. Assisted by the public, the forces of law and order and subunits of the internal troops and the Soviet Army are implementing measures aimed at its normalization.

Baku—Over 24 hours, uninterrupted-cycle enterprises and life support facilities have been fully operational. The metro is functioning, and public transportation is working, in general. The work of republican television has been restored. On the local radio, Col. Nikolay Petrushenko, USSR people's deputy, answered telephone calls live. His dialogue with Baku residents was open and constructive.

No clashes on interethnic grounds have been registered. For the purpose of establishing order, voluntary associations of citizens are being set up in which reserve soldiers are taking an active part.

The extremist groups which continue to spread false rumors and try to undermine the prestige of local bodies of power have a destabilizing effect. Leaflets calling for civil disobedience are being disseminated. This, at the Shmidt Works, where there was a headquarters of extremists, about 10,000 leaflets with provocative contents were confiscated.

The large-scale delivery, by troops, of fuel to Baku filling stations to ensure the operation of ambulances and motor transporation for enterprises of food industry and trade was appreciated by the population. The structure of republican communications is being restored by the troops.

Lenkoran—The activity of party and Soviet bodies has been restored. The town is quiet. Enterprises, organizations, and establishments are working. There was a meeting between the town's party active and working people and commanders and political workers of the border detachment. Specific measures for making the situation stable were elaborated jointly. The town's residents themselves threw the extremists, who tried to hinder the process, out of the room.

Khanlaw—As a result of the active explanatory work among the population, guerrillas of the "Defense Committee" began to surrender arms on 26-27 January. An armored personnel carrier, a mechanized infantry combat vehicle, 12 hail-control guns, 97 automatic weapons, 4 carbines, 47 small-bore rifles were returned. Search for and surrender of weapons continues in other rayons of the republic as well. No criminal proceedings have been instituted against those who have surrendered arms voluntarily.

Nakhichevan—As the Azerinform correspondent was told at the party oblast committee, the situation in the Autonomous Republic is stabilizing. All the industrial and building works and organizations are functioning, transportation is working normally. The publication of the oblast's newspaper has resumed after a week's interruption.

In the course of investigating the activities of the extremist wing of the "People's Front of Azerbaijan" [PFA], Allakhverdiyev and Asadov, leaders of the "People's Front" board of the Ilyichevskiy rayon who were armed, and also Ismailov, one of the leaders of a "People's Front" cell in Baku, who had a false passport and identity card, were detained by the KGB organs. Investigation is under way. At the same time, the situation in Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic remains complicated.

Gyandzha—Weapons continue to be surrendered voluntarily. Life is returning to normal. There have been no meetings for 2 days. Enterprises in the food industry, transportation and everyday services are operating. Food is reaching the shops. Suburban electric trains have started running. The town's papers are being published.

But many enterprises, however, are still not working. Building sites are at a standstill because of an acute shortage of stone, cement and other building materials. The damaged section of the Akhsu-Gyandzha water pipeline has not yet been restored.

Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]—Road traffic has been restored. Representatives of the republic's organizing committee for normalizing the situation in the NKAO have met military commanders in Stepanakert. Questions connected with the intolerable nature of interethnic conflicts were discussed.

Extremists' strongholds with large stocks of food have been discovered in the settlement of Kirkidzhan. A homemade cannon, hunting rifles, over 500 catridges and 6 kg of buckshot as well as knives were confiscated.

Mingechaur—uninterrupted-cycle enterprises are working, as are health-care facilities, schools, kindergartens, the bakery, food shops, markets and transport. The local population, including workers' militia detachments, are actively involved in maintaining order in the town.

Neftechala—All enterprises, organizations, and establishments are operating as usual. The situation is completely under control. An extremist "headquarters" was neutralized in the area in the early hours of 28 January. Over 200 firearms were confiscated.

Khachmas—PFA extremists burst into the town's mosque on 27 January and demanded money. Threatening to blow up the church, the criminals made off with R27,700 donated by the population.

Sheki—The bakery is operating, as are health care facilities, some shops and public catering establishments, and communications. However the "V.I. Lenin" Silk Production Association—the flagship of the silk industry in Azerbaijan, is still at a standstill, as are several other industrial enterprises and building sites, and transportation.

In Armenia a hail-control gun with 200 rounds, a sub machine gun, eight pistols, a revolver and four rifles have been returned in the past 24 hours. At the same time, the cobbling together of guerilla groups is still proceeding in various districts of the republic, and the theft of weapons is not letting up. There have been attempts to manufacture home made bullet-proof vests, small arms and optical sights.

Anxiety is growing in the republic over the existence of large quantities of stolen weaponry which is falling into the hands of criminal elements. The leaders of unofficial organizations must realize that the extent to which they are responsible before their own people for the crisis that has beset the region will increase still further if they continue to obstruct the voluntary surrender of weapons that have been stolen or seized.

Reports from the Soviet-Iranian border speak more and more of the population reassessing the state of affairs in the region. Peasants and workers, veterans, the heads of farms and enterprises are turning to the border troops' command and political officers for help and protection against extremists. In Azerbaijan's Dzhalilabad Rayon, for example, functionaries of the "Popular Front" are systematically extorting money from the populace. This is generating indignation. In a number of border villages, the villagers have set up voluntary people's patrols to defend themselves against the impositions of the criminals.

In the past 24 hours 80 people have been detained for border violations. Around 22 million Iranian rials, dozens of wristwatches and Soviet currency have been confiscated from two smugglers.

'No Serious Breaches'

LD2701210490 Moscow TASS in English 2041 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 27 TASS—No serious breaches of the public order were recorded in Baku last night. Filling stations for public and office transport vehicles opened in the daytime.

Part of trolley-bus and bus fleet began to function in the city. The number of newspapers on sale increased. "KOMMUNIST" and "VYSHKA" as well as central newspapers appeared in news-stands. Republic television resumed broadcasting at 19.00, Moscow time, [1600 GMT] on January 27. The broadcasting began with a televised address by Ayaz Mutalibov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee.

In conversations at spontaneous meetings near underground railway stations, at railway and bus terminals, along with the discussion of every kind of rumours and expressions of concern, opinions are also voiced that "militants betrayed the people and pushed them to bloodshed" while those who are guilty of that "are evading responsibility and continue to call for further bloodshed."

Individual calls for a continuation of bloody strife are not supported and the population's attitude to them is extremely negative.

Order does not come by itself. It is restored through the joint efforts of military authorities, law and order maintenance agencies, and the local public.

One of indicators that tension is subsiding is the sharp decrease in the number of Russian-Speaking people leaving Baku. It is significant that placards with inscription proclaiming "we do not want the Russians to leave" have appeared at meetings. People of various nationalities are looking for mutual understanding and dialogue.

The elimination of the criminal military structure of the Azerbaijan Popular Front is being continued. Many Baku residents regarded with relief reports that a number of leaders of terrorist groups have been detained. But some of the masterminds of terror are still in hiding.

In Lenkoran, the Popular Front branch announced that it resigns its powers. Local radio urged the population to hand in weapons to state power bodies. People turned in 300 units of firearms and 180,000 cartridges.

However, the so-called Lenkoran Defence Committee formed a group of militants that refused to surrender arms and tried to hide in the mountains. On the outskirts of Lenkoran they engaged in fighting against a detachment of servicemen.

A Soviet Army officer and five terrorists were killed in the gun- battle. Fifty-two units of firearms, a large amount of ammunition and three mortars were seized. More than 50 armed terrorists were detained.

Hostages, captured by opposing groups earlier, are returning home. In Khanlar district, 17 Armenians and 22 Azerbaijanis were freed.

As people become increasingly aware of the true causes of the dramatic events, there are mounting demands among the population to call to account the organisers and inciters of inter-ethnic discord.

Tension is subsiding in the residential areas of Armenia. Enterprises, transport and the every-day service sector are functioning normally. On January 27 Kirovakan residents had a day of voluntary work. For the first time after the earthquake, all operating enterprises of the city worked in two shifts.

At the same time the formation of militant groups does not cease in the republic.

At a meeting in Yerevan's Theatre Square on January 25, leaders of informal organisations tried to distort the meaning of measures being taken to stabilise the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region.

Border troops are taking the necessary measures to strengthen the border regime. The personnel of units display restraint and act adroitly and competently in extreme conditions.

Over the past twenty-four hours, 38 border crossers from Iran have been detained. In the Lenkoran and Prishib border sectors, 1,941 people were let through, of them 1,246 to Iran. An increasing interest of the authorities of districts and civilian population in restoring law and order at the border is apparent.

Military Situation

LD2601185290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1738 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Yerevan, 26 Jan—TASS special correspondents report:

As Major-General Nikolay Pishev, chief of the Yerevan garrison, reported, the advancement of troops to all the areas in Armenia bordering Azerbaijan is going strictly according to plan. Sub-units which have already occupied the positions determined have begun to fulfill the tasks set. Close cooperation with the USSR Foreign Ministry's internal troops stationed in the republic has been arranged. "I consider it necessary to note", the general said, "that we agree on all our actions with the local authorities. The republic's population relates to the army with goodwill, and over the whole of this period no excesses have been noted."

The consequences of the blockade are being felt more and more in Armenia. In 2 weeks more than 700 tonnes of industrial and food goods have not been received. Stores of foodstuffs and fuel are dwindling; the gas main is hardly "breathing." In the words of Yuriy Khodzhamiryan, deputy chairman of the Armenian Council of Ministers, today less than 11 million cubic meters of gas are coming into the republic each day, instead of 21 million. In Yerevan, of 244 industrial enterprises, 17 have halted completely and 116 are working at half strength.

No one in the Soviet Union can be indifferent to the events taking place in the Transcaucasus, which have turned into a tragedy for many people, stated USSR People's Deputy Genrikh Igityan in an interview with TASS. He noted the necessity of decisive measures for the quickest possible stabilization of the situation and for unblocking the work of the vitally important transport lifelines.

In solving national problems it is necessary to reject stereotypes and in each separate incident find its own prescription for resolving the issue, the deputy noted. People of various nationalities live in Armenia, and we are trying to have them live peacefully without any conflicts. Our people have the most genuine, warm attitude toward the Russian people.

Vladimir Markayants, chairman of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers, today had a meeting with Supreme Patriarch Vazken I, catholicos of all Armenians, during which he noted that a precise program of mobilizing all forces and means to get out of the critical situation has been developed.

Speaking about the tasks which stand before the Armenian Apostolic Church, Vazken I stated that he had turned to all Armenian believers in the Soviet Union and the world with an appeal to unite and show prudence. He reported that the Armenian church had additionally assigned R1.72 million to a fund to aid refugees.

Region Normalizing

LD2601174590 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1700 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Stepanakert, 26 Jan (TASS)—The inhabitants of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast center were pleasantly surprised today on finding that the intercity telephone link had been restored. Another joyful piece of news was the report that 2 freight trains of 76 cars, among which were cars with food, had arrived at the railway station. Fifty-one freight cars carrying finished products left Stepanakert today.

Today is the 2d day that scheduled bus services have gone to the oblast's rayon centers—Mardakert, Martuni, and Shusha. Until recently, passengers had to overcome long distances in order to get to these places. Today, although accompanied by military escort, the buses with Armenian passengers can pass Azerbaijani villages, and Azerbaijani buses can pass Armenian localities. In order to complete the removal of the automobile blockades in the oblast, the military have still to unblock the Stepanakert-Shusha-Lachin-Goris road.

All this is possible thanks to the preventative work of the military commander of the area under a state of emergency, the assistance of the local party and soviet organs and of several leaders of informal associations, and the understanding of the local inhabitants, Armenians and Azeris.

Work on normalizing the situation in the region is continuing.

Rail, Transportation Situation Updated

Rail Blockade in Armenia

LD2801211690 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Video report by V. Nazaryan, identified by screen caption, in Yerevan on 28 January; from the "Seven Days" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Nazaryan] Today, as in the past few days, the situation in Armenia overall remains stable—if you do not count the continuing blockade, of course. Since 10 January not a single train has entered the republic along the Azerbaijan railroad. The main aim of the talks which are now taking place in border districts is to finally get the railroad going. Unfortunately, the talks have not yet been crowned with success. Factories are idle and ready output is not being dispatched. There are supplies of fuel left at Yerevan TET's [heat and electric power plant] and Razdan GRES [state regional electric power station]—the main power stations of the republic—sufficient for 2 or 3 days. The central market in Yerevan, as always, delights the eye with its abundance, but owing to the acute shortages in the shops of the main food products, here the prices have soared. Another fresh fact: Supplies of newsprint are coming to an end; a decision has been made to reduce regular publication of all republican newspapers; publication of some of them has been temporarily halted.

The consequences of the blockade are felt particularly in the areas which suffered from the earthquake—a third of the republic. Builders from Krasnoyarsk, Altay, Tatar and other detachments are packing their bags. They have nothing to do. Equipment is idle because there are no building materials. Plans for commissioning of housing have been disrupted, so thousands of people who lost their homes are forced to spend the winter in tents and trailers.

[G.V. Kurin, head of Armenian Construction Directorate attached to Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Council of Ministers, identified by screen caption] This is not the first blockade we have been going through. The damage to morale which the blockade is doing today is perhaps the main thing. The comrades which come to us must of course be ensured provision for work and material- technical resources. To our great regret we today cannot achieve the necessary rate of work which is defined by the targets for 1990. Yesterday, the 27th, we received 82 wagons including only 6 wagons of cement, and we did not receive a single cistern of fuel and petrol. We find ourselves in this state every day. Of course if work was normal it would not be like this.

State of Emergency for Railway

LD2701173690 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 27 Jan 90

[From "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Hello, comrades. today, just as in previous days, we await first the news from the Transcaucasus, and we hope for the best.

[Correspondent Ye. Blokhin—identified by caption] Baku, 27 January. We once more are beginning to recognize a city we visited several years ago, and which we remember precisely like this, like it is today—sunny. It seems that the tension, which a few days ago was palpable everywhere, is declining. For the first time, and believe me it is for the first time in recent days, the people's faces are a little warmer, although there still is alarm in the eyes of many. Our conversations kept coming back to the recent tragic events. Today, public transport appeared on the streets of the city. Some industrial enterprises and food shops are working. This is one of Baku's markets; it is bright, typically eastern, and abundant. Here one can obtain not only all that the Azerbaijan land is rich in, but one can also learn the latest news, just as at any market.

Our next route takes us to the city railway station. It appears that the republic's transportation arteries are gradually coming to life. But the serviceman remains the main person here.

[Begin recording] [Lieutenant Colonel B.V. Bogdashov] Passenger traffic on the Azerbaijanian Railway is proceeding practically as usual, with only a few hitches, as happens in normal times. One can say that there was a major problem with freight trains until today. A state of emergency has been declared on the railway, and commandants have been appointed for most major stretches of the Azerbaijanian Railway. Since yesterday, the railway has come to life: Freight trains have started working in the direction of the north, toward Tbilisi and Georgia. An exchange has already begun between the railways. Only our southern routes, toward Armenia, remain a problem. This is a big problem. Time will show how it will be decided. [end recording]

MVD Report

LD2701145490 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1256 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, 27 Jan (TASS)—The situation in Azerbaijan remains complex. The TASS correspondent was told at the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs that, as before, the majority of the republic's enterprises are not functioning. The Azerbaijan railway blockade is continuing. A total of 117 freight trains bound for Armenia are standing idle.

However, according to information from the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry, signs of improvement have appeared, thanks to the measures to normalize the situation being taken by the forces of law and order, units of internal troops, the Soviet Army, and the USSR Committee of State Security [KGB]. Five hundred buses have begun to operate on a number of routes. The emergence of all motor transport is expected.

Negotiations in Khanlar Rayon have resulted in the exchange of 17 Armenians for 22 Azeri hostages who had been in Shaumyanovsk Rayon. The Azerbaijan Communist Party rayon committee has resumed its work in the town of Udzhary. according to preliminary figures, In the town of Lenkoran operational measures have resulted in the detention of 80 extremists, and in the town of Neftechaly of 22.

The situation is becoming more stable in the Nakhichevan ASSR. The cease-fire agreement on the republic's border with Armenia has not been violated. Enterprises and urban transport are operating.

In Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast no instances of armed clashes, arson, or pogroms have been registered over the past 24 hours. The movement of transport along the oblast's roads with an escort of internal troops has been restored. Communications are being reestablished.

In Armenia the measures being taken have resulted in the continuing return of stolen weapons. At the same time, as a result of the bombardment by unknown people of one of the villages in Kafan Rayon of Armenia from the border Kubatly Rayon of Azerbaijan, two local inhabitants received bullet wounds. An investigation is being carried out.

Calls for Services To Resume

NC2601182290 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1643 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Unscheduled announcement—read by announcer]

[Text] This is Baku; we present an appeal to those who work in various areas:

The people's way of life is being seriously affected to a certain degree because transportation services are not operating during these grave days in Baku.

People are not being transported to hospitals, clinics, funeral ceremonies, shops, and bazaars.

Food shortages are felt in the city because provisions are not being delivered to the food stores. There are not enough vehicles to guarantee the harmonious operation of the bakeries, flour mills, stores, and other services which work around the clock. Fuel shortages are felt in fuel supply centers because fuel transportation vehicles have not resumed work, making it difficult for other vehicles to do so. Elderly people, women, [word indistinct] children, and sick people are in great difficulties because the transportation services are not operating.

In view of all this, we appeal to you, to tell you that helping all of our people is recommended. Demonstrate your goodwill in contributing toward improving the [word indistinct] situation of Baku's people for the sake of our people. Do not spare your efforts.

Train Movement

NC2601202990 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1700 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] No trains are arriving in Armenia, and the economic blockade is continuing. This information was provided by the Committee of People's Control in Yerevan.

Train traffic has resumed along the Transcaucasian Railways. Ten trains with 261 freight cars carrying economic goods arrived in the republic on 25 January alone. This included 18 tank cars of benzine, 35 of fuel oil, 38 of diesel oil, and 1 of aircraft fuel. The remaining freight cars included 21 of mineral ore, 7 of coal, and 1 of construction materials.

Transcaucasus Derailment

PM2601123190 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 26 Jan 90 p 1

[Own correspondent N. Mikeladze report: "Railroad Warfare?"]

[Text] Tbilisi—Just after 0200 hours 24 January a Yerevan-Rostov passenger train derailed at the Ayrum-Sadakhlo junction on the Armenia-Georgia border.

The accident happened in the territory of Georgia's Marneulskiy Rayon—a region with a predominantly Azerbaijani population. The locomotive and the first five cars crashed down an embankment. According to our information, there were no casualties. We can say that the consequences could have been serious if it had not been for the vigilance of the engineer, who, immediately after turning a sharp bend out of a crag, noticed that the rails at the junction had been forced apart and so began an emergency stop at a distance of 40-50 meters.

"We have only just begun the investigation," A.Sh. Bakradze, the Tbilisi transport prosecutor, said, "but my own personal experience of criminals tells me that the rails at the junction had been deliberately forced apart. Moreover, the people who did this were familiar with the details of railroad traffic organization and used special equipment."

Traffic along the mainline—the only line along which supplies are being taken to Armenia—is now at a standstill. Several dozen trains traveling to the republic have been held up at points along the way. Repair work is in progress.

Details on Lifting Blockade in Baku Port

PM2801185190 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 27 Jan 90 First Edition p 1

[Report by Captain Second Rank O. Odnokolenko and Lieutenant Colonel V. Kaushanskiy: "In the Baku Roads"]

[Text] Baku, 25 Jan—At a meeting with journalists yesterday at the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Ye. Primakov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union, once again stressed with total certainty: Only patience, a well-considered approach, and tact can characterize the language that masy be used to conduct this very hard dialogue today.

He was accompanied in this difficult discussion with the press—which had its tense moments—by A. Girenko, CPSU Central Committee secretary, and I. Abramov, USSR deputy general prosecutor. Some questions put by local journalists turned into passionate monologues where a personal viewpoint of the events and their political roots was virtually presented as the supreme truth.

The main thought in most of the questions put to Ye. Primakov was as follows: When will the military leave the city? The crux of the answer is supremely simple and logical: Everything depends on when the mechanism of authority begins to operate on full power, when provocateurs cease their attacks, and when the bloodshed stops.

...Gay noisy Baku's face has lost its smile. Throughout this time there has been virtually no letup in the firing around the Salyanskiye Barracks. Yesterday the center of the tension shifted to Baku's seaport buildings.

Airborne Troop Staff Officer Colonel P. Popovskikh described the situation:

"The port area had attracted our attention for a long time. We often saw extremists here with weapons and it emerged that the blockade was being controlled from the motor ship 'Sabid Orudzhev'."

Parachute subunit troops were ordered to clear the ships of terrorists who had earlier seized them. The task was carried out. Some 20 militants [boyeviki] were arrested. Incidentally, hashish was found on a mechanic from the "Orudzhev."

Assault troopers were under most strict orders to only open fire in retaliation. No one disobeyed this order, even in the obviously threatening situation. When the approaching "Neftegaz-30" ship, which was also carrying terrorists, also opened fire with mortars and automatic weapons and two soldiers sustained severe injuries, a warning shot was fired from the airborne fighting vehicle's gun. However, the extremists did not cease their fire. Then the airborne fighting vehicle fired several shots at the ship. The use of weapons did not entail casualties....

That same night we traveled by UAZ truck to the sailors' position—they were also involved in clearing the seaport buildings of militants.

It must be noted that throughout this time the Caspian flotilla was, as it were, the at the "sharp end" of the psychological struggle—"Kaspnefteflot" vessels and later Caspian Maritime Steamship Company vessels attempted to block the main channels. Another provocative act was also committed—an attempt to ram and sink hydrographic vessels evacuating servicemen's families from Baku.

When Captain Second Rank Yu. Vakarin, chief of staff of a brigade of ships, told us about events in the Baku roads, he emphasized on several occasions that seamen did not use their main weapons.

When, we returned to the correspondents' office, we had an opportunity to familiarize ourselves with a report prepared for the military command. It is obviously worth briefly recounting what it contains.

According to valuation data from the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic State Committee for Statistics, approximately 40 percent of the republic's income is in the hands of corrupt clans and smooth operators in the black economy. Investigative bodies have recorded contacts between nationalists in Armenia and Nagornyy Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and nationalists and slick operators from Azerbaijan.

Government Aid to Azerbaijan Refugees Reported

LD2601122090 Moscow TASS in English 2155 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 27 TASS—"Refugees from Azerbaijan continue to arrive in Moscow. In our estimates, their number has reached about 4,000," Ayk Minasyan, a spokesman for the Armenian permanent mission in Moscow, told TASS. "There are Armenians, Russians, Russian-Armenian and Azerbaijan-Armenian families among the arrivals," he said.

Under the resolution of the Soviet Government, adopted on January 17, a lump sum will be paid to refugees to purchase clothes, shoes, and prime necessities. The resolution also provides for compensating the damage to those who fled their homes in the wake of pogroms.

Some 150 people daily spend their night in the building of the permanent mission where they received food and medical aid.

"The municipal authorities give aid to us but they are unable to accomodate all of us in hotels," said Minasyan.

According to the figures of the Political Department of the Soviet Interior Ministry troops, about 600 members of servicemen's families have been evacuated from the Azerbaijan SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] by now. The government takes measures to give urgent aid to them.

At the same time, numerous proposals are being made by servicemen, veterans of the armed forces and interior troops, organisations and individual citizens to set up a relief fund for families of soldiers serving with interior troops. For this purpose, a special account was opened at the USSR State bank today.

Trapeznikov Cited on Airlift Operations

PM2601141990 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Jan 90 First Edition p 3

[Interview with Major General of Aviation V. Trapeznikov by Colonel A. Manushkin: "Military Airmen Hurrying to Help"—date and place not specified]

[Text] These days, the work of military air transport is very strenuous, evacuating refugees from the Transcaucasus and shipping food and medicines into the region. Our correspondent, Colonel A. Manushkin, has talked with Major General of Aviation V. Trapeznikov, first deputy commander of military air transport.

[Manushkin] Viktor Konstantinovich, the airmen are giving priority to the evacuation of people whose lives are in danger, are they not? How many evacuees have been brought out of the Transcaucasus since the introduction of the state of emergency?

[Trapeznikov] By 25 January military air transport had brought out 16,500 people. They are taken by helicopter to the airfield region where the Il-76 aircraft land and we are already sending refugees to Moscow and cities in the Ukraine. Flights to the Volga, Urals, and Siberian regions are planned. The airmen give the refugees as much as help as possible because many were not only made homeless but were also left without money or food, too... For example, the crew commanded by Major Vladimir Borisovich Ivanov gave all their rations to their passengers and gave first aid to women and children suffering from the cold.

[Manushkin] The military aircraft aren't just transporting people though...

[Trapeznikov] That's right. We have shipped 1,245 tonnes of freight. Mainly food, clothing, and medicines...

[Manushkin] Viktor Konstantinovich, there were rumors that some airfields were blockaded. What is the state of play?

[Trapeznikov] All I can say is that military airfields in the Transcaucasus were functioning everywhere. They are securely protected by Interior Ministry troops and Soviet Army personnel. There have been attempted attacks, however, and firing by extremists. There were several bullet holes in one aircraft. Captain A. Moroz, Senior Lieutenants V. Degtyarenko and V. Sbruyev, and Warrant Officers Ye. Goryashkin and A. Berdnik spent 2 whole days at the airfield repairing the aircraft. They got it fully ready for service.

Yerevan Rally Briefs People on Developments

NC2601203690 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Dear compatriots, a rally took place yesterday in the theater square [in Yerevan]. The members of the Armenian Pannational Movement administrative board briefed the people about the prevailing situation in and around Armenia, in Artsakh [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast (NKAO)], Shaumyanovskiy Rayon, and Getashen Subrayon.

Journalist Renal Mirzoyan, who had just returned from Artsakh, spoke about the critical situation prevailing there. The oblast's links with the outside world are completely cut. The air piracy and anti-Armenian hysteria of Shusha television continues. NKAO is completely blockaded, and the last stocks of foodstuffs and fuel are being used up. Some of the members of the NKAO National Council have been detained. The only hopeful point is the unbending spirit of the people of Artsakh and their conviction about the victory of their just cause.

Developments in Transcaucasia were also touched upon at the rally. Arshak Sadoyan, a member of the administrative board of the Armenian Pannational Movement, spoke about the stance of the foreign press on developments.

Uniforms Found at Azerbaijan Popular Front

LD2601212190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 26 Jan 90

[From "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Unidentified correspondent] Today we visited an Interior Ministry subunit [not further specified]. Here is what was discovered during a recent raid: These military uniforms were stored at an ordinary—ordinary at first sight—warehouse. [video shows piles of uniforms being displayed by soldiers, and Lieutenant Colonel A.S. Sorovikh]

[Begin recording] [Sorovikh] This was discovered at 27 Ulitsa Vannikova, where the headquarters of the [Azerbaijan] republican Popular Front was located. At the moment our troops arrived, naturally there were no representatives of the Popular Front. Everything was abandoned. The premises were open. Evidently they simply did not have the time to take this property away. There were also newspapers, and they also had leaflets.

[Correspondent] Why should a representative of the Popular Front disguise himself in such clothing?

[Sorovikh] It is difficult to answer this question definitely, but I think it is to be less noticeable against a background of servicemen. [end recording]

[Correspondent] Cartridge cases for automatic weapons were found there too. Investigation is underway, and it will provide the answer to the question: Who precisely fired in the area of these stores? The investigation is to answer the question: Who made these maps on which the rayons of Azerbaijan have been entered? [video shows unidentified serviceman showing maps to correspondent]

[Serviceman] Drawing maps is no simple hobby. No. This means that there must be a complete collage of them. There were 20 such pages.

Foreign Reaction to Caucasus Events Cited

LD2601123790 Moscow World Service in English 0810 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Now we'd like you to hear reactions of foreign politicians and mass media to developments in the Caucasus. These reactions can be boiled down to the assertion that the Soviet Government, like any other government, has the right and is actually obliged to ensure the security of its citizens and restore law and order in places where people kill one another. This includes the right to use troops if necessary. A number of experts who took part in a BBC program arrived at the conclusion there was no other alternative to what was done and no one could propose any better solutions. [passage omitted]

In these conditions any careless statement, any unauthentic or deliberately false information, may bring forth an explosive reaction, unpredicted tragic consequences. For Example, Radio Canada and some other mass media quoting the fanciful figure of 3.5 thousand people allegedly killed in Baku cited by certain representatives of the Azerbaijan Popular Front. The BBC juggles with the notion the Azerbaijan-Armenian war, inviting to speak at its microphones representatives of either Armenia or Azerbaijan who interpret Moscow's stand in a biased way and issue their calls. This looks more like encouragement and not objectivity, like an attempt to pour oil on the flames. What we need today is a guarded approach to events in the Caucasus, the most truthful information, objectivity, the desire not to hamper, but assist in the settlement process. The present conflict between the two republics is fraught with danger not only for the people of Azerbaijan and Armenia but for other nationalities of the Soviet Union as well as international relations as a whole.

New Socialist Spokesman on Azerbaijan, Gorbachev

AU2601180690 Vienna AZ in German 26 Jan 90 p 7

[Interview with Boris Kargalitskiy, spokesman of "New Socialists" movement, by Margit Maximilian: "Gorbachev Stirred Up Conflict"—in Moscow, date not given]

[Text] Maximilian: Is the crisis-stricken area in Transcaucasia a serious threat for the USSR?

Kargalitskiy: Yes, because I think that the era of imperialism is over. We will encounter many new problems. Gorbachev has pursued a wrong policy. One must recognize the independence of Azerbaijan and cede Nagorno Karabakh to the Armenians. Only 2 years ago this would have been an easy thing to do, because there were not yet so many nationalists. However, at that time, Gorbachev supported the Azerbaijani movement and thus stirred up the conflict.

Maximilian: What do you think of the current military intervention?

Kargalitskiy: Now, at this very moment, this was probably the only solution.

Maximilian: Yet what is to become of the soldiers?

Kargalitskiy: They were dispatched to protect Nagorno Karabakh.

Maximilian: How strong is the position of Mikhail Gorbachev? Will he face major problems at the Central Committee meeting, which is to begin soon?

Kargalitskiy: Of course he will have problems, but this is nothing new because he has always had problems. However, the current problems are not worse than the old ones.

PRAVDA Readers View Transcaucasus Events

90US0410A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Jan 90 p 3

[Readers' letters: "Appeals to Reason"]

[Text] Letters and telegrams to PRAVDA keep on coming from Soviet people commenting on the tragic events in Azerbaijan and Armenia. The lines dictated by sincere pain evince concern for the lives of compatriots, who have by ill chance been drawn into bloody internecine strife, and impassioned appeals to the good sense of the neighbor peoples for a halt to the madness.

Barbarity

The situation is horrifying. Blood and tears.... How have we come to this? Barbarity on the frontier of the third millennium which needs to be brought to an end at once. The time has come to recognize what the endeavor to gloss over and mask national contradictions is costing our society. Or will future historians do this for us?

I was born and raised in Turkmenia, in a multinational amicable community, among both Azerbaijanis and Armenians. They had taken up residence in our republic long before. I cannot even imagine implacable hostility and bloody carnage arising between friends of my age.

But eyewitnesses who have been to our coastal city of Krasnovodsk are painting dreadful pictures. Every day the ferry brings from the other shore of the Caspian half-naked people who have been wounded and beaten up. There are women and children refugees among them also. There can be no indulgence of those who are organizing pogroms in Baku and Nagornyy Karabakh.

I was recently elected a people's deputy of the Turkmen SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]. As a people's deputy I appeal to the parliaments of Azerbaijan and Armenia—do everything to stop the killings and wipe the shame from our fraternal peoples. Mete out the strictest punishments, publicly and openly, to the instigators and actual "militants." Do not allow anyone to escape responsibility. I am sure that all Soviet people expect decisive action from you.

We are all convinced of how dangerous nationalism is. We need to combat it strictly and uncompromisingly.

Sapar Mollaniyazov, motion picture director, people's deputy of the Turkmen SSR.
Ashkhabad.

Both Advice and Demands

What is happening in Nagornyy Karabakh and the Armenian and Azerbaijani republics has today pushed all other events in our country into the background. And my work comrades are asking more and more often: "How could such a thing have happened? Why were the necessary measures not adopted in good time?"

These are not rhetorical questions. Here is just one example. Our leadership manifestly "missed" the Armenian SSR's adoption of the enactments pertaining to the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast on affiliation of the territory of this oblast. Could not the consequences of such a step have been foreseen in time?

Let us not close our eyes: A civil war is going on between these two republics. Not only sporting guns but also submachineguns and grenades are being used. What have our law enforcement authorities done to close off the escape channels of these weapons? It is at best stated that "criminal proceedings have been instituted...." But prompt and tough measures are needed here: People are, after all, dying!

My brigade's opinion is as follows: Responsibility for the bloodshed lies not only with some extremists and instigators. Individuals and groups cannot lead whole nations astray. For this reason the roots of the conflict go considerably deeper than it appears at first.

We Urals workers hope that the USSR Supreme Soviet will use to maximum effect the "breathing-space" which the announcement of a state of emergency in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and certain other areas affords. It is essential to do everything to ensure that the leadership of Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Nagornyy Karabakh be able without pride and mutual claims to find the optimum version of a solution to the conflict. If necessary, however, decisive use should be made of the rights enshrined by the USSR Constitution.
Kh. Ovsyannikov, leader of a brigade of the Urals Freightcar Plant.
Nizhniy Tagil.

Put Out the Fire of Enmity [subhead]

Open Letter to Veterans of the Caspian Shipping Company

Dear colleagues in difficult maritime labor!

We are following with pain and anxiety the events in Nagornyy Karabakh and the fratricidal enmity which has developed between you and the Armenian people. We have long been unable to understand how such a savage, senseless situation could have arisen on the land of ancient, wise neighbor peoples who stood shoulder to shoulder in the revolution, the Patriotic War and postwar building.

The forces which ignited this fearsome bonfire are hostile to both peoples.

We appeal to veterans and internationalist seamen made wise by the experience of life. Make every effort to bring an end to the protracted enmity. We know what honor and respect old men enjoy with you. Go into the work force and onto the ships and appeal to neighbors, friends, relatives, children, and grandchildren for good sense. May they heed the voice of reason and soothe passions. Call on people not to indulge the embittered enemies of perestroyka. This enmity benefits them alone. Assist peace with might and main, and this will be life's worthiest cause for each of you. Peace on your house!
War and labor veterans of the Far East Shipping Company.
Vladivostok.

Dialogue Needed

The workforce of our poultry factory is large and multinational. And there is not currently anyone who views without pain and sympathy the ordinary people, old men, and children in Nagornyy Karabakh and in a number of areas of Azerbaijan who have found themselves in a difficult situation.

We can imagine how weary people, old men and children particularly, are of these confrontations. For this reason the decision to impose a state of emergency was, albeit difficult, the sole correct measure. We need to help the inhabitants of Nagornyy Karabakh restore tranquillity and peace. I would like to express another thought also: Is it beyond the powers of the peoples of the two neighboring republics themselves to bring order to bear in their own home? How can the party and soviet leaders of Armenia and Azerbaijan look people in the eye? What will they say later, as the wounds inflicted by these senseless clashes take years to heal, how will they justify the bloodshed? It is finally time to see sense, sit at the negotiating table and enlist in the dialogue authoritative people whose opinion has always been treated with respect here.

V. Vasilchenko, director of the "Krasnodarskaya" Poultry Factory, holder of the Order of Lenin.

Armenian Premier, Catholicos Discuss Situation

NC2601220990 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Yerevan, 26 Jan (ARMENPRES)—Vladimir Markaryants, chairman of the Armenian Council of Ministers, received Armenian Catholicos Vazgen I.

During the meeting the catholicos expressed deep concern about the prevailing situation in Azerbaijan and Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and severely condemned the barbaric actions, the murder of our innocent compatriots, and the massacres that have taken place in Baku and other regions of the neighboring republic.

V. Markaryants informed the catholicos about measures being taken by the government to stabilize the situation and for protecting the security of the Armenian population in Shaumyanovskiy Rayon and Getashen subrayon as well as in the settlements bordering Azerbaijan.

During their conversation, they discussed the role of the Armenian Apostolic Church in stabilizing the situation under the prevailing acute interethnic conditions.

Information in Russian 'More Important Than Ever'

NC2501192490 Yerevan International Service in Arabic 1730 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Text] Newscasts in Russian are now more important than ever because Soviet citizens need to learn the truth. Newspapers issued by certain higher institutes in Yerevan are now filling this vacuum. Prominent among them is THE ECONOMIST, which is widely circulated. It is worth noting that THE ECONOMIST's editorial staff has undertaken a significant and difficult task and published two magnificent bulletins on the issue of the Karabakh region. This topic is highlighted in various newscasts in the Soviet Union. However, the reader of the Russian language is not fully informed about the different aspects of the problem. Central newspapers and television networks in Moscow are frequently biased in their analysis of this issue, giving their readers and audience the wrong picture.

If he reads recent issues of THE ECONOMIST, a person who is completely ignorant about the issue of the Karabakh region will see clearly what the inhabitants of Karabakh want and who is causing hostility between the Armenian and Azerbaijani peoples.

Political & Social

Estonian Supreme Soviet Meets 26 Jan

LD2701200290 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 27 Jan 90

[From "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Late last night the routine session of the Estonian Supreme Soviet ended proceedings.

[Kh. Lenk—video report over video of meeting in progress] The deputies worked for almost 12 hours. A number of laws important for the republic's financial autonomy were adopted. However, some laws were not passed as they failed to receive a sufficient number of votes. For example, changing Articles 6 and 7 of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic Constitution, which mention the leading role of the Communist Party in society, was defeated by two votes.

There were cogent debates on matters connected with laws on emigration, the import and export of goods, and a working procedure for the next convocation of deputies of the Supreme Soviet, to be elected 18 March. The question of creating an administrative association separate from the republic on the territory of eastern Estonia, now largely inhabited by the non-native population, was also raised.

Some USSR Supreme Soviet deputies have been putting forward demands lately for changes to the republic's border. No decisions were made on the subject, and it has been passed to the Estonian Supreme Soviet Presidium for further consideration.

Economy Minister Appointed

LD2601131990 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1800 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Summary] The Presidium of the Estonian Supreme Soviet met today. It appointed Edgar Savisaar as minister of economy, releasing him from the duties of both deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Planning Committee.

Article 6 Retained

LD2601191390 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 26 Jan 90

[From "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Estonia—Today, in Tallinn, a session of the republic's Supreme Soviet discussed the future of Articles 6 and 7 of the Estonian SSR Constitution concerning the leading role of the Communist Party in the political system of society. The bill was not passed. The abolition of the constitutional article on the leading role of the party was defeated by two votes. However, this question should not have been put to the vote in the first place, since constitutional amendments must pass three readings in parliament, according to Estonian Supreme Soviet regulations.

At the Supreme Soviet sessions of the union republics: A session of the Supreme Soviet of Belorussia was held today. It took stock of the discussion of the bill on languages in the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR]. The Belorussian language has been granted the national language status. The Russian language has been defined as a language for interethnic communication.

'Or So It Seemed...'

LD2601201990 Moscow TASS in English 2012 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Tallinn January 26 ETA-TASS—A computer malfunction during a session of the Estonian parliament here today during a crucial debate on the Communist Party's leading role threw deputies into confusion and postponed a vote on the controversial issue.

The Estonian Communist Party Central Committee had already had a heated debate on the matter, finally agreeing that no party should have a monopoly on power and that the issue should be referred to the Estonian Supreme Soviet.

In the vote in the republic's parliament today, 187 deputies voted for the abrogation of Article 6 of the Constitution ensuring the party's leading role, and for changes in Article 7, as suggested by the commission of the Supreme Soviet. Twenty-four deputies abstained and twenty voted against, or so it seemed...

As amendments to the constitution require a two-thirds majority vote to be passed, the draft was not adopted. (There are 283 deputies in the republic's parliament).

It appeared that two votes were lacking in order to abrogate the article on the leading role of the party.

Then it was established that the computer which registered those present before the vote had malfunctioned.

A number of deputies protested against another vote, because in this case the votes on other matters would be called into question.

After a difficult debate it was decided to reject the draft amendments to the Estonian Constitution and refer them to the commission for legislative proposals.

It was then established that the vote was by no means crucial as constitutional amendments should have three parliamentary readings under Estonian regulations.

The deputies also discussed the first reading of some bills and endorsed a number of ministers proposed by the government.

The session continues.

Upcoming Estonian Elections Reviewed

LD2701104190 Moscow TASS in English 1016 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] Tallinn January 27—By ETA correspondent Ruta Pels:

Debates about the elections to Estonian local soviets on December 10 have not yet subsided. The Tallinn evening newspaper reports every day about candidates in the four election districts where run-off elections for the Tallinn and Maardu Municipal councils will be held this Saturday.

Meanwhile people are preparing for elections to Estonia's Supreme Soviet to be held on March 18.

Estonia's supreme government body will consist of 105 deputies elected in 46 districts. Elections in many districts will be multi-candidate, as were the elections of USSR People's Deputies and of deputies to local government bodies held last year.

The January plenum of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee nominated from the Communist Party Vayno Vyalyas, Estonian Communist Party Chief Arnold Ruytel, president of the Presidium of the Estonian Supreme, Indrek Toome, chairman of the Estonian Council of Ministers, and many others.

Preparations for the elections have been started by newly-formed public organisations—the Estonian Union of Work Collectives, the Agrarian Union and the Greens.

Candidates have been nominated also by Interdvizhenie and the Joint Council of Estonian Work Collectives.

These organisations boycotted the elections to local government bodies, regarding the new lay as discriminatory because of residency requirements for candidates of no less than five years.

"The election campaign is so far proceeding calmly, in a businesslike way," Arno Almann, secretary of the Estonian Supreme Soviet Presidium, told ETA.

"We hope that the forthcoming elections will not be complicated by any manipulations by various public organisations, which took place during the elections to local government bodies. People wish to express their hopes and aspirations through their representatives, and neither vetern nor young politicians should prevent this out of some personal or group interests."

The September plenum of the Estonian Communist Party last year called for the transfer of power by the party to the elected soviets.

Local government bodies and the democratically-elected Estonian Supreme Soviet, representing the interests of society, should become a lawful, democratic and effective government body, it was said at the January plenum of the Estonian Party Central Committee.

Estonian Central Committee 16th Plenum

Vyalyas Address

90UN0729A Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 5 Jan 90 p 1

[Report by Vayno Vyalyas, first secretary of Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, to Estonian Communist Party Central Committee 16th Plenum in Tallinn on 4 January]

[Text] Our plenum, which is concluded by today's meeting, has been held at a very tense time. Not only did the change of year fall during the break in its work, there have also been many socially and politically important events which are in one way or another influencing the preparations for the 20th Estonian Communist Party Congress. These have been primarily the elections to the local soviets, then the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies in Moscow, the preparations for the election of a new Estonian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet and the publication of the program documents of essentially new party groupings, which is changing the political situation in the republic to a considerable extent. A CPSU Central Committee plenum, which discussed the decisions of the 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress, was held a few days ago.

The CPSU Central Committee special plenum adopted a prudent decision, according to which it was deemed necessary prior to final assessments being made, for both members of the Politburo and the general secretary personally to get to know the situation on the spot. Whence it follows that the communists have a varying attitude toward the question of the sovereignty of the union republics and the independence of their communist parties. In formulating its policy the CPSU Central Committee has to take stock of All-Union public opinion and rely on it. But a simplistic idea of the state arrangement of the USSR and the unity of the CPSU is predominant in the everyday mind. For objective reasons monolithic unity, uniformity, and an identical understanding of the goals have been considered in the country the main precondition for development. Proceeding from such notions, local interests and the political distinctiveness of the communist parties are identified with nationalism and separatism. Practice shows that in different regions of the country there is very different experience of development, national traditions and ideas, different religious principles and customs, and a different level of economic development and, consequently, a different public consciousness. These particular features force the local party authorities to take into consideration in their policy local interests. The logical consequence of this consideration is decisions the need for which is not always understood by the center and the country's public opinion. It follows from what has been said that the development of perestroyka and democratization in the USSR is possible only given an understanding by the union leadership of the particular features of different regions and of the right to adopt decisions locally and bear the responsibility for their consequences. Decentralization of the right to decide is the basis of democratization. If it is disregarded and the adoption of crucial decisions is dragged out, reference being made if only to All-Union public opinion, local processes will objectively start to come into conflict with central administration. Increasingly radical decisions, which among small peoples acquire a nuance of national-democratic struggle against the central leadership, will be adopted locally. The communists in the localities would thereby find themselves faced with a difficult choice: either joining together with their people in open struggle against the central leadership or counterposing themselves to national aspirations. Playing two parts simultaneously cannot be done. The people are inquiring bluntly: Whose side are you communists on? It would seem that the critical time has come in Lithuania. This question has to be answered by the Estonian Communist Party also.

Life shows that there are no unequivocal and simple "black and white" answers. Of course, given a more favorable attitude toward us on the part of the union, much tension in the republic would be removed. We would like All-Union assurances of sovereignty for the union republics on the principles of confederation, which have in some respects been supported in the speeches of M.S. Gorbachev also, to be created more quickly. Today we have to once again record clearly and precisely the main goal—**a sovereign, democratic Estonia.** This goal coincides with that to which many democratic movements aspire, and for this reason it is time to call a halt to the political race over this distance. We need to act together. The Estonian Communist Party sees as its main mission under today's conditions ensuring the transition to a democratic society, although this will cost it place and position. I believe that this should be the basic political expiation of the Estonian Communist Party as the organization responsible for the deformation in the development of society. Let us propose at a session of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet the formation from USSR people's deputies and deputies of the republic Supreme Soviet of a corresponding commission for the achievement of the state sovereignty of Estonia, whose mission would include the formulation of an action program for bringing our official status into line with sovereignty and restoring Estonia as a subject of international law.

A guarantee of the independence of the Estonian Communist Party is the structuring of the CPSU per the principle of the independence of the republic communist parties. How should this be approached? There are no simple, "black and white" solutions here either. The Estonian Communist Party may be a real party only on the basis of freely adopted decisions.

We also want to be understood by all people in the union: With the development of democracy there arises as an objective reality a pluralism of views, which grows into a multiparty society. Deformed economic relations arose on account of a one-sided and simplistic understanding of the problems confronting society. The solution lies only in gradual transition to a market economy and the synchronous reform of the economic and political systems. We can see that in society and in the party there is an urgent need for the competition of different ideas, which would be a guarantee of the party's deliverance from subjectivism both in the formulation of ends and in the choice of means of their achievement. But let us be realists. Such positions are not shared as yet by many members of the party, including the Estonian Communist Party. We are constantly haunted by the image of the enemy within and a simplistic notion of complex phenomena. It is obvious that opposite ideological positions will clash at the 28th CPSU Congress. It is for this reason extraordinarily important for us that we formulate our own party platform which will be supported by the 20th Estonian Communist Party Congress.

On the other hand, we need ourselves to recognize that the way to the independence of the Lithuanian Communist Party may not serve as a direct example for the reformation of the Estonian Communist Party. Ideological fissures have clearly come to light with us, and there is no room for the positions of extremes within the framework of one party, regardless of whether the Estonian Communist Party is part of the CPSU or is independent. Some communists wish to build communism according to the canons of the traditional theory of communism, without any essential revision of its principles. Others proceed from the experience of international social democracy. Some supporters of the center maintain that practice has yet to provide us with sufficient material for new generalizations. Others wish to create a dependable base for Estonian Communist Party policy via an interpretation of the theory of socialism with regard for the republic's specific features. From a wider angle the ideological confrontation amounts to two different positions. Some people proceed from distant ideals and wish to adapt reality to them, avoiding a critical analysis of the past, others, on the other hand, wish to build policy by proceeding from historical experience, a critical reinterpretation of past views and a recognition of new realities. Initially it might appear that there is no great difference here, but upon closer inspection we discover a whole system of opposite positions.

We want the party to rid itself of excess ballast impeding it in the choice of a correct course. We are seriously disturbed that some of the party's members have left. Thus 4,100 persons left the party upon request in 1989. National affiliation plays no part here. Whereas in the first six months it was chiefly rural inhabitants, in the second six months it was townspeople. Estonians constituted approximately 51 percent of those who quit.

Why are people leaving the party? There is obviously a connection between the departure of party members and the demonstrative emphasizing of their party allegiance by members of the CPSU provocatively rejecting the Estonian Communist Party's current policy. There are undoubtedly more general, very different reasons as well. Primarily, serious dissatisfaction at the critical state of our society and the incapacity of the party organizations for deciding for themselves, for struggle and for possessing their own character. Neither the Central Committee nor the gorkoms [city party committees] and raykoms [rayon party committees] have been able to make an exhaustive analysis and provide meaningful answers for confused party members. There are many speculative arguments in the sphere of national relations. The difficulties and mistakes in management, social policy, culture, education, evaluation of the past, and so forth are being transferred to it. In a word, the reasons are many. The spread of false information, however, is particularly intolerable. The intra-party debate and the differences in opinions have in places developed into teeth-gnashing carping going beyond the framework of party ethics and discipline. Union departments are often being summoned to the defense of group interests. None of this has anything in common with the interests of the people. But in populist mass-meeting democracy such methods may appear as clinching arguments. Members of the CPSU head strike committees and are part of the leadership of frequently diametrically opposed public organizations. Attacking the party from left and right, they forget that they also constitute the party and that party authority is their concern also. The party should hold these people to account at all levels (we are not talking about the old method of pressure, when there was only one argument—hand over your party card!), we need to inquire bluntly: Are they benefiting or damaging their party, are they justifying their membership of the party or disgracing it.

I would like to dwell on one further aspect, even though this is my subjective opinion. Excepting individual compelling reasons, I cannot understand how it is possible to quit the party now, when perestroyka and the democratization of our society and the future of the Estonian people are in great danger. Chauvinist and conservative forces are consolidating, but, on the other hand, anticommunism with its simple solutions—you know what I am talking about—is advancing. This could set people against one another, which is fraught with the most dire consequences. This is not rhetoric. We have neither the moral nor, even less, legal right to play with human lives and our future. How is it possible to justify departure from the party when it is known that it is at the 20th Congress that we will be faced with the most serious ideological battles? Is this not—let us speak plainly—irresponsible. We recall what our forefathers said about those who in situations which required decisiveness and courage—be it a fire, shipwreck, or an invasion of the elements—abandoned their posts. Ill repute dogged them the rest of their lives. I do not want to be understood one-dimensional —it cannot be ruled out that some people will lose heart and let us down at a difficult time, but it is the party organization which should have the decisive say here. It will obviously be expedient at the scientific and practical conference which we will convene this January to discuss the ideological reasons for the intra-party split, elucidate the various platforms and submit them for discussion to the primary organizations and the gorkoms and raykoms. It will be ascertained in the course of the discussion what the support for these platforms is.

The final decision will be made by the 20th Estonian Communist Party Congress in March. Let us ask ourselves today: Might the party split on two platforms? It is as yet too early to say, but neither do we see a prospect for the consolidation of the different intra-party forces. The congress will show whether victory in the Estonian Communist Party will be gained by democratic forces proceeding from the republic's interests and specific features or whether those to whom a unitary state is dearer will gain the ascendancy. If the communists supporting the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee's present policy prevail at the congress, it may be assumed that the Estonian Communist Party Program and Rules and the proposals to the CPSU Congress concerning the terms on which the Estonian Communist Party will remain within the CPSU and develop cooperation with equal independent communist parties will be adopted.

The idea was heard at the last CPSU Central Committee plenum that separation of the union republic communist parties from the CPSU could not be an end in itself. The end is the republic's sovereign development. We think this way also. Everything needs to be done in a calm atmosphere and decisively, but ruling out power politics. Indeed, why slam the door and disassociate ourselves conclusively when cooperation on the basis of equal and mutual benefit is possible. Let us attempt to create via independence new foundations for cooperation. The search needs to be continued.

The course of perestroyka in the republic is requiring in places quite decisive steps which could at first glance seem too hasty and thus a threat to the entire restructuring process in the union. We have been warned that radical solutions may be employed by conservative forces for an attack on the entire restructuring process. But there is a contradiction here also. How can the Communist Party in a union republic simultaneously guide perestroyka and slow it down? Is it at all possible to slow down the solution of urgent problems under the conditions of developing democracy. What, in general, would justify an aspiration to a leveling of development? And if, indeed, we were to accept the proposition that we should calmly wait until others catch up, how could we explain to the population of the republic that our party cannot bring the living standard into line with the labor contribution on the basis of equivalent commodity exchange and the law of value and that it has been allotted merely passive, abstract participation in the process of perestroyka.

A multitude of questions would arise were we to substantiate tactical steps only through the prism of the solution of All-Union contradictions. If the union republic communist parties wish under the conditions of ideological competition to remain a serious force in society, they must express local interests and see their connection with statewide interests, the international situation, and foreign policy. Such is the objective result of the development of democracy. The Estonian Communist Party will find itself in a new situation, which it is essential to anticipate even today. To hold back from radical reforms would mean a renunciation of our interest or the concealed hope of securing power with the aid of power methods. Both are in actual policy tantamount to recklessness and a calculated game of perestroyka, the rules of which are known only to those involved in the game. Such a calculation is in sharp conflict with the public opinion that has taken shape in the republic: No party may or should have a monopoly of power.

It is perfectly clear that following the elaboration by the time of the Estonian Communist Party Congress and the adoption threat of the program and status there will be an appreciable change in the Communist Party's place in Estonian society. For this reason Estonian Communist Party members should reflect seriously and be clearly aware in their own minds of what their attitude will be in the future toward other public movements and political groups. But it is clear even now that the results of the elections and the correlation of the soviets and the party committees, which is beginning to change, will put us in an entirely new position in the political situation. We need even now, in the precongress discussion which is beginning, to think seriously about the role in the local political structure which will be performed by the gorkom and raykom and the kind of fundamental changes that are to be expected. There is much to think about and to put into practice here. On the one hand we really can affirm that many of the present party leaders at all levels have merited broad support, but, on the other, what now is the future of the gorkom and raykom?

We need to seriously comprehend the disturbing trend which has been manifested recently in the emergence of new party formations which are leaving the Estonian Communist Party. What does this mean? Has this been caused by our inaction and a rejection of our strategy and tactics or a desire not to bind oneself with responsibility for the present and the future of Estonian society inasmuch as we have yet to reach a democratic state based on the rule of law, and the role of the Estonian Communist Party is, as I have already said, very crucial. So let us discuss these problems together, we have no ready answers, but we must necessarily have formulated our position by the time of the congress.

Like mushrooms after rain, new political groupings have been appearing recently which will in the very near future begin to lay claim to recognition as parties. We all know that the catalyst of this was the process of perestroyka initiated by M.S. Gorbachev. We can only stand amazed that the scorched political earth of Estonia is producing so many shoots. But these shoots are as yet weak, and the overall situation will depend both on our own and the All-Union climate. I would therefore appeal once again to all political groupings which are close to the Estonian Communist Party to refrain from activity leading to its split. The Estonian Communist Party will confirm at the congress its own policy course and status. This tree, which is called the Estonian Communist Party, we do not have the right to weaken in the present situation, the less so in that various forces will certainly begin each in their own way to display "concern" that the tree grow as they see fit. It is essential that both the people and the party undergo a time of political self-determination. An ideologically seasoned, independent party of the new type should grow from the Estonian Communist Party. But such self-determination is the collective duty of all who have linked themselves to the party. The independence of the Estonian Communist Party should not mean losses of political allies.

For this reason it is wrong to advance the slogan "Separation at any price". True independence is not determined by a severance of the party's ties but its position and correspondence to the interests of the people. We are still living in a society deformed by the command economy in which there, essentially, is not even a one-party system even. These circumstances are also the reason for the shortcomings in political culture and party ethics. It is not surprising that the political methods inherited from Stalin's times are too often manifested in the activity of the public movements and that they are being employed, what is more, by both conservatives and those who consider themselves progressive. We need to experience these times, and the Estonian Communist Party has a particularly crucial role here.

We need to look the facts in the eye: Until the USSR Constitution enshrines a multiparty system, it will be the Estonian Communist Party's duty to the people to express the vital interests of Estonia as a whole. I believe that this is understood also by those who have ardently embarked on the formation of new parties while remaining in the Estonian Communist Party. As in countries with developed democracy, we need to aspire to the unification of the party and the party's various political schools in an organizational whole in order, at important moments, for society to enter politics on a firm social base. The elections to the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet on 18 March will largely determine the fate of the republic not only for the next five years but, in principle, for a very long time. Considering this, I would like to hope that responsibility for the choice of path prevents use of the election campaign for some group or adventurist purposes.

It can be seen from the example of the social processes currently under way in Europe that the sooner the leadership recognizes the need for a change in the structure of society, the more normal and stable these processes will be. In countries where renewal has been held back by force and where people have hoped to prolong their sojourn in power, life has proceeded in an uncontrollable atmosphere full of profound upheavals. The laws of society's development are objective, and identifying the interests of some specific individual or group of people with the interests of socialism is an unforgivable crime.

The Estonian Communist Party aspires to channel society's development in the direction of a democratic state based on the rule of law. How well or badly we have managed to do this up to now, history will tell. We have tried and will continue to try to change the Estonian Communist Party. From the rejection of any dissidence in the direction of pluralism of opinions. From the direction and command of the economy toward the defense of social and civil rights and unity, given various political positions.

It should be clear that the way toward a democratic state based on the rule of law is long and needs to be walked by the party itself. This will be difficult, but it would be short-sighted to deny the need for such development and to win by populist slogans the temporary support of the people. Such victories could in time prove Pyrrhic.

The present time has posed acutely the **question of the communists' responsibility.** Indeed, the Estonian Communist Party has been responsible for society's development over the past 50 years, when it has been the formal leader in the republic. But may we automatically transfer this responsibility to all who are members of the party at this time? Certain social forces are currently attempting to shift the whole responsibility not only for the mistakes of the Estonian Communist Party but also for Stalin's and Brezhnev's distortions of Marxism and the defects of social life in the USSR and Estonia onto all members of the party.

Of course, political struggle is political struggle, but political culture has its place also, in a society aspiring to democracy, in any event, there is no managing without it. Each person must be responsible for what he personally has done as a party member. The Estonian Communist Party is opposed to all who by neo-Stalinist methods or under the flag of anticommunism wish to win cheap authority and extract political benefits.

Impermissible methods are employed quite frequently in respect of the Estonian Communist Party and its members, often, what is more, precisely by those who once "swore fealty," while strengthening personal positions, but at difficult moments, of which we have had many, did not dare breathe a word even in defense of these communists themselves, at whom they are now slinging mud. Now, when there is nothing to fear, they are trying to outdo one another in portraying the Estonian Communist Party and its members as enemies of the Estonian people. Yes, there have also been in the Estonian Communist Party those to whom the fate of the people has been a matter of indifference, but it is simply not possible to evaluate all its members in this way. Even in the most difficult periods there have been communists who, gambling with their lives, have spoken up for truth and justice. Despite everything, the Estonian Communist Party will make its telling contribution to the formation of a new democratic Estonia. Both the responsibility of the party as a whole and the personal responsibility of each communist to his country and people make this incumbent upon us.

'Political Statement'

LD2601185790 Tallinn RAHVA HAAL in Estonian 6 Jan 90 p 1

["Political Statement of the 16th Plenum of the Estonia Communist Party Central Committee (adopted on 4 January)"]

[Text] 1. The democratic renewal of socialism has opened up the path for the justified efforts of peoples to determine their own fate. This has been demonstrted by the events of recent times both here and in other socialist countries. Analyzing the progress of restructuring in the Soviet Union and the present changes in eastern Europe as well in the Soviet Union and the present changes in Eastern Europe, the Communist Party of Estonia [CPE] is of the position that when shaping the Estonian future, one needs to proceed from those characteristics toward which one is advancing when establishing a common European home.

In Estonia, too, most political forces support the Estonian people's efforts for sovereignty. The specific paths for achieving independence are, however, viewed differently, often in a contradictory way. The CPE holds the position that becoming independent is a complicated and contradictory process for which one must not only create the juridical foundations but also a firm political, economic, and social base.

Attempts to reduce Estonia becoming independent to declarations and slogans of separation from the Soviet Union may act as a brake on the real process of becoming independent. The CPE understands the sincere efforts of the numerous people of Estonia who have registeed themselves in Estonian Citizens' Committees to achieve independence as quickly as possible. But at the same time the CPE, holds the position that the intention of the main committee of Estonian citizens to hand the right of deciding the future of Estonia only to the citizens of the Republic of Estonia, as registered by the committees and their offspring, will not solve the essential problems associated with Estonia actually becoming independent for those who aspire toward this status [citizenship in the Republic of Estonia]. On the contrary, this will result in a further exacerbation of ethnic conflicts while playing the trump card for those aspiring toward an ethnic-territorial split in Estonia [reference to the non-Estonian oblast planned for northeast Estonia]. Estonia's becoming independent can be nothing but be a constitutional, integral process which proceeds along the parliamentary path and which takes into account the common will of the majority of the population whose roots are in our republic.

All the people living in Estonia need to understand that so long as the Estonian people do not feel themselves as being securely protected in their ancient homes and so long as they do not have clear future prospects, nobody in Estonia will be able to feel themselves secure in Estonia. Besides, efforts for Estonian sovereignty are not in conflict with the interests of other USSR peoples; they are in conflict only with the centrist and bureaucratic model of administrative socialism.

2. The model of socialism hitherto has at present reached a grave crisis everywhere. The processes which have taken place in socialist countries demonstrate convincingly that one is able to emerge from this crisis on the strength of a truly pluralistic policy which takes into account the characteristics and independence of all political forces and, proceeding from it, the joint front of democratic forces. The right to be the one to express the interests of the people must, however, be founded upon real responsibility for the actual consequences for one's policy.

There is no need in Estonia for an uncompromising fighting for the absolute monopoly of the truth and power to reign between the parties, instead it should be a working union for resolving specific problems. We can see no impediment in principle for creating a coalition between the forces which are aspiring for Estonian sovereignty and those which are positively interested in overcoming the crisis. For this reason the CPE Central Committee considers it necessary to set up a commission within the Estonian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Presidium to be changed (until the new Parliament convenes) into a truly democratic body for cooperation between the chief forces of Estonian politics.

It is clear that there is no place for a monopoly on power in the future society. But the essence of the issue is not only contained in the annulment or amendment of Articles 6 and 7 of the fundamental law. The CPE maintains the position that it is necessary to work out legislation which reflects the democratic foundations of the law-governed state, to work out and adopt as quickly as possible the foundations which will regulate the activity of political movements constitutionally changing into parties. For this reason the CPE strives for a law on parties to be adopted in the near future.

3. The CPE must become a persistent defender of social justice. As quickly as possible some kind of mechanism must be found which would avoid a more substantial decline in the living standard of the people during the implementation of IME [Self-Managing in Estonia]. We hope that the republican government would be ready in the near future to implement extraordinary economic and other measures to ensure that even under the conditions of an intensifying All-Union crisis, the man of Estonia enjoys economic, social, and physical security. Both the law on migration which at present is under public debate and the law on citizenship which is closely related to it need to be adopted by the legislature as quickly as possible. It is unthinkable to implement IME without a swift and effective implementation of those laws.

The CPE is interested in an independent, vigorous trade union movement which would indeed be capable of effectively defending the rights of workers. The activity of Communists within the renewed trade unions must be directed toward this end.

Youth problems require particular attention at present. The future of our party as a whole largely depends on how we succeed in explaining our efforts to our young and in involving them in our activity.

The CPE considers it necessary for the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet to establish a special commission on human rights which would ensure their guarantee, and express our attitude to such questions in the international arena. We consider it necessary to have close cooperation with international human rights organizations. The objective assessments of such commissions might assist us in better seeing our problems. We on our part will do everything so that the new draft fundamental law will have thoroughly worked through the human rights issues.

The creation of a mechanism which would take into account and carry out the opinions of ethnic minorities and the development of a scientific and methodological base for resolving the problems of the republican nonindigenous population will become an important link in this work.

4. The CPE holds the position that the principle of economic expediency must not be implemented to the detriment of social guarantees not at the expense of expenses allocated to social and mental development. Likewise, Estonia must not be changed from the playing arena of All-Union monopolies to land inherited by international corporations. We support diversity of forms of ownership, strive for effective legislation against monopolies and for just and strict monitoring of taxes.

The CPE considers that the most important precondition for IME to take off is a radical decentralization of power and ownership relations, with the development of an actual system of local government. For this reason the closest task in real politics is the adoption by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet of laws which ensure decentralization of the district [maakond—a pre-war administrative term], the region [vald], and the town. Reallocation of the larger part of national revenue at the level of local budgets will not only provide the people with the actual levers of power but will ensure a much more effective protection than at present against the danger of crisis as well as a more fruitful and more man-oriented social policy—particularly in the spheres of education and culture.

In the search for paths and opportunities to augment the real sovereignty of Estonia and to elaborate specific measures for the decentralization of both the political and economic life, the joint forum of all people's deputies who were elected on 10 December may play an essential role. The CPE proposes that an organization be set up to rally associations of towns, districts and regions for the purpose of solving the tasks ahead.

5. The CPE has borne the main responsibility for the adoption and implementation of resolutions in real politics. Understanding and recognizing its responsibility before society, the CPE has had to carry out the role of a stabilizer—also for purely historical reasons—in both internal as well as external conflicts within the complex spectrum of public forces. Having had to consider political realities first and foremost, the CPE has recently done quite a lot to ensure the stable and danger-free development of Estonia.

Last year's elections have served as a demonstration of the population's support for specific Communists and the republican top leadership. Thus in principle the CPE can view as accurate the course which is effectively assisting M. Gorbachev's reform efforts, is striving for close cooperation with all democratic forces of the Soviet Union and the whole world, as well as for the creation of a firm foundation for transforming Estonia into an internationally recognized state within the common European home.

6. Having acquainted itself with the program theses of the Estonian Social-Democratic Independence Party and the manifesto of the Estonian Free Democrats, the CPE does not find in those documents enough basic differences to warrant an organizational split within CPE democratic forces duirng the present complex moment of changing to IME and searching for paths leading out of the sociopolitical crisis. Before the 20th CPE Congress, it is not of prime importance to clarify the mutual ideological differences and political relationships of one or another group oriented toward democratic socialism; what is of prime importance is the question: To become or not to become a democratic and sovereign Estonian state. The CPE conference which will take place on 9 February must also deal with that and other essential questions.

The 20th CPE Congress which will come together in March will adopt a program, founded upon fundamental Marxist values, for constructing a democratic society in Estonia. As a result of the adoption of a CPE statute and CPSU constitutional guarantees at the 28th Congress, the CPE must become a sovereign party of the kind which is capable of expressing the interests of the people, without restrictions. The CPE holds the position that during the present stage of transforming the Soviet society it is the republics' Communist Parties' real independence within the CPSU which must be guaranteed first and foremost. The resolutions of the 20th CPE Congress will serve as the foundation for our further development.

The renewed CPE must rally like-minded people who hold common positions on principled questions. Extending internal party democracy presupposes an increase in the standard of the Communists' political culture and party ethics. The future of Estonian society largely depends on the renewal of the CPE. In the course of fighting for Estonian sovereignty and achieving it, the CPE will also become sovereign.

Central Committee Agenda

90UN0727A Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 5 Jan 90 p 1

[Excerpts] The 16th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Estonian Communist party [CPE] continued on 4 January.

As you know it was decided at the 7 December 1989 meeting of the CPE Central Committee to continue the Plenum on 26 December, but then the Plenum was postponed due to the extraordinary Plenum of the CPSU Central committee.

The Plenum was opened by CPE Central Committee First Secretary Vayno Vyalyas.

The following items were on the agenda:
1. Information on the development of the political situation in the republic after the extraordinary Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.
2. Information from the editing commission on the draft decree of the Plenum of the CPE Central Committee "Evaluation of the Present Political Situation in the Republic by the CPE Central Committee."
3. Information of the legislative initiative commission on their work.
4. Approval of the commission for the preparation for the CPE 20th Congress.
5. The approximate charter of the commissions of the CPE Central Committee.
6. Organizational items.

As suggested by T. Leyto, those present observed a moment of silence in the memory of the academician A.D. Sakharov.

First Secretary of the CPE Central Committee Vayno Vyalyas spoke on the first item in the agenda. [passage omitted]

The CPE Central Committee Plenum considered it necessary to design the legal basis for a multiparty system and to include the corresponding amendments in the Estonian Constitution. It was decided to introduce a draft law on parties to the Presidium of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet as a legislative initiative.

CPE Central Committee member T. Laak suggested that the Plenum provide a political evaluation of the behavior and speeches of the CPSU member E. Kogan at the Congress of the USSR People's Deputies and other public forums. It was decided to turn this problem over for solution to the primary party organization and the party committee of the Estpybprom [Estonian Fish Product Industry] together with the party control commission under the CPE Central Committee.

Ya. Allik introduced to the Plenum an appeal to the participants of the extraordinary plenum of the CPSU Central Committee that he co-wrote with E. Golikov. On behalf of a group of CPE Central Committee members V. Malkovskiy introduced a draft political statement from the participants of the 16th Plenum of the CPE Central Committee. The documents were accepted for information and it was suggested to consider them when preparing for the CPE conference.

The political statement of the 16th Plenum of the CPE Central Committee was approved and it will be published in the press.

Some organizational items were discussed. The Plenum decided to comply with the request of a member of the Armed Forces, a candidate member of the CPE Central Committee V. Selivanov who asked to be relieved of the duties of a candidate member as he lived outside of the republic and could not participate in the work of the Central Committee. The Plenum decided to co-opt Ya. Soobik, first secretary of the Tallinn City party committee, as a member of the CPE Central Committee.

The Plenum decided to expel E. Pyldroos from the CPE Central Committee and its Bureau. The plenum also approved the decision of the Estonian Artists' Union party organization of 22 December 1989 and decided to consider E. Pyldroos excluded from the CPSU. [passage omitted]

Estonian People's Deputies To Meet 2 Feb

LD2601133990 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1800 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Text] The organizing committee set up at the Presidium of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet for the purpose of organizing a joint meeting to celebrate 70 years of peace in Tartu met again today. At the proposal of the Estonian Union of Work Collectives, with support from the Communist Party of Estonia Central Committee, the People's Front, and other movements, there will be in Tallinn—in addition to other events—a meeting on this occasion of the full complement of Estonian people's deputies of all levels. A report at the meeting will be made by Arnold Ruutel [chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium]. Hopefully, the people's deputies will adopt a suitable political statement on 2 February.

Social Democratic Party Set Up in Estonia

LD2101221890 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 21 Jan 90

[From "Seven Days" newscast presented by Eduard Sagalayev]

[Text] [Sagalayev] Now about another event of this week. It didn't attract the attention of the central media, but it seems to us that it deserved to.

[H. Lenk identified by caption] In the last few days new colors have been added to the palette of political movements in Estonia. The first forum, Social Democracy in Modern Europe and the Political Future of Estonia, was held in the university town of Tartu. The forum was attended by representatives of social democratic parties from 20 foreign countries, Lithuania, Latvia, and

Moscow. The aim of the forum was to resurrect the social democratic movement in the Baltic republics. [video shows participants gathered at tables, with flags of various countries also displayed]

After this forum ended, the constituent congress of the Social Democratic Association of the USSR started in Tallinn. About 200 representatives of various republic, kray, and oblast social democratic movements and parties from all over the Soviet Union took part in it. Members of the interregional group of people's deputies of the USSR also took an active part in preparing the congress. The Estonian telegraphic agency and the republican papers called the congress of the social democrats the first forum of Soviet mensheviks. [video shows participants at meeting, distant view of rostrum]

[Oleg Rumyantsev, member of the organizing committee of the Social Democratic Association] The association (?will) be involved not only with educational activities, but also with coordinating the actions of those many organizations, parties, and movements that are now springing up that share the political and economic values of social democracy, social democratic values. Not only the coordination of their actions, but also the production of their publications, participation in electoral campaigns, work with deputies, working with the workers' movements, help in setting up independent trades unions, that is to say, all that great activity a normal political organization does in developed, civilized countries. We are now setting up a mass party. That is understandable. If you like, we are now creating a new political symbol, the possibility of alternatives for society, the possibility of choice for society. We are now making for ourselves a sort of psychological and political niche in the social and political structure of our country. This is the main task of this congress. [video shows Rumyantsev being interviewed]

Environmental Party Forms in Latvia

LD2701120990 Moscow TASS in English 1142 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] Riga January 27 TASS—By LATINFORM-TASS correspondent Yelena Kovalenko:

The Environmental Protection Club, the Movement of the Greens, the Latvian University Centre and the Republican Culture Foundation's Environmental Section have all recently been formed to promote work to improve the environment in the Baltic Republic.

Riga Bay Water, once pure emerald, has now become brown and thousands of picturesque riverlets can now be seen only on old charts.

The ecological movements prompted the formation of the Greens Party. The party now boasts about three thousand people.

Public environmental protection work to clean dunes and plant trees, inspection of forest and coastal areas and participation in the work of public commissions of the State Environmental Committee and local government bodies have made participants in the ecological movement confident that efficient and real results could be attained only through forming a party.

"Having formed a party, we hope to see our representatives in parliament and the republican government and take a direct part in Latvia's political and economic activities," Igor Meya, one of the party leaders, said.

The Environmental Protection Club, who led the movement to form a new political organisation, unites schoolchildren, students, clergymen, senior officials of the Republican Council of Ministers, doctors and agricultural workers, as well as workers in culture. Each of them, notwithstanding age, profession or nationality, is confident that ecology should be a matter of policy.

Speaking of their place in Latvia's political life, the Greens say they are neither left nor right, but a vanguard party.

Latvian Currency Reform Difficulties Described

LD2701121490 Moscow TASS in English 1133 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] Riga January 27—By LATINFORM-TASS correspondent Alla Koshueva:

The introduction of a local currency unit is only one of the monetary reforms now being developed in the Soviet Baltic republics. Economists believe the reforms will help pave the way to economic sovereignty. The law on the sovereignty of the Soviet Baltic republics was passed by the Soviet parliament in November and is already in force.

The Latvian government has put the newly-set Ministry of Economics and deputy prime minister, Soviet People's Deputy Arnis Kalnins, in charge of drawing up monetary reforms.

The decision to place a scientist, who is a director of a research institute, in a ministerial post is taken as evidence that specialists and not bureaucrats will manage the Latvian economy.

"We need our own currency to jumpstart our economic reforms, pursue our own policy in prices, taxation, wages and protect the republican market," Kalnins said.

"Our desire to enter international markets is equally important. Latvian laws that are now being formulated on monetary reform and banks will determine measures used to ensure the buying power of the republican currency. They will set exchange rates with the rouble and foreign currency and procedures for payments to the union budget and other republics, and they will solve the question of setting up a customs system."

Economists who share Kalnins' views paint a bright picture of the future and nurture hopes of entering the European Banking Association after the introduction of local currency.

They are discussing using the International Monetary Fund currency unit as a convertible currency to enter Western markets.

In a year's time, twenty percent of all payments to enterprises in other parts of the Soviet Union will be carried out in these units, they say.

However, no one can tell how these enterprises will take to the Latvian idea.

Meanwhile, Latvian skeptics wonder where they will find the 15.5 million convertible roubles needed to buy equipment to print local currency, especially since it is expected that in a year's time all visitors to the republic will be starting their journey at exchange offices on Latvia's borders.

Latvian Newsprint Crisis Persists

PM2601164390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Irina Litvinova report from Riga under rubric "Direct Line. Own Correspondents at Teleprinter": "Newspapers Publishing—But For How Long?"]

[Text] The normal publication of newspapers, which was disrupted 3 days ago, resumed in Latvia 25 January. The republic Council of Ministers resolution which, as reported earlier, provides for a schedule for the publication of newspapers and strict measures to economize on newsprint—it is entitled "On Urgent Measures in Connection with the Reduction in the Production and Deliveries of Paper"—has not yet been signed. The government is seeking to convince the public of the need to find a compromise between ecology and economy at the Sloka pulp and paper plant where, in accordance with a decision of Yurmala and republic Supreme Soviet deputies, pulp production is to be suspended forthwith.

According to A. Gutmanis, deputy chairman of the republic State Planning Committee [Gosplan], failure to supply various types of paper as a result of the closure of the Sloka plant will cut the Latvian national economy's revenue by approximately R100 million, and deductions from turnover tax will be reduced by a further R250 million. It will be necessary to reduce investments in various republic sectors accordingly. I. Emsis, first deputy chairman of the republic State Committee for the Protection of Nature has proposed that talks be opened with the leaders of the Svetlogorsk combine in Kaliningrad oblast. He said that this enterprise is experiencing a shortage of timber for the production of paper. If Latvia supplied it, it might be possible to obtain the necessary 40,000 tonnes of paper pulp. Assistance was also sought in Estonia, but there the demands, as was pointed out at a session of the Council of Ministers, are considerably higher: They want 10 times more timber than is necessary for the production of the required quantity of pulp. V. Bresis, chairman of the Council of Ministers, warned that it will be necessary to revise the republic budget approved by the Supreme Soviet in order to alter the funding of various sectors by R200 million, and also to return money to subscribers.

If the decision concerning Sloka remains in force, Latvia will be hit by a "paper crisis," specialists believe. More and more details of its possible consequences are cited—affecting not only the printing industry but also agriculture, the food industry, and other, sometimes unexpected, spheres. For instance, if paper deliveries are reduced, computer center services will have to be forfeited, and this would jeopardize the timely payment of pensions. Even such a trifle as the packaging of matches at a local factory will grow into a serious problem. Council of Ministers staffers are citing all these problems in an effort to brief the public. Will they be able to convince it?

A general meeting of journalists and printing workers has been held at Press House. It went on for about 2 hours, however, many questions remained open. No one, for instance, could say who ordered the publishing house to suspend the publication of newspapers Monday. A resolution was adopted at the meeting in which a "political assessment" is made of the suspension of paper deliveries. Speakers said that this was economic blackmail, an attempt on the part of the center to trip up the economic autonomy of the republic, "ignoring the fact" that the Sloka combine is located near Riga and that the decision to close it down was adopted by republic organs. It has been decided to continue publishing all newspapers as long as there is newsprint.

According to the director of the publishing house, there is enough paper for 10 days. Freight cars loaded with paper are on their way from Karelia—with enough paper for another week. The director said that certain paper combines which have been reliable partners for years are breaking their contracts because they are in a complex situation themselves. For instance, the Koryukovo plant in Chernigov oblast was forced to break a contract because Sloka has failed to supply the paper material for the production of wall paper. The paper intended for Latvia is to be offered on the open market in order to then obtain the paper material for wall paper elsewhere. Speakers demanded that the publication of central publications be discontinued and the newsprint intended for them handed over to local newspapers and journals as soon as their reserves run out.

'Solidarity' Protests Election Rule Violations

LD2901100290 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 0800 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Summary] Sajudis information agency reports that a meeting of the board of the opposition organization Solidarity was held in Kaliningrad on 28 January. It decided to sabatoge the elections by erasing the names of all candidates in ballot papers. This decision was made because of the violations of the regulations concerning the registration of candidates. The mandates of two opposition candidates have been withdrawn. It is intended to organize demonstrations.

Lithuanian Christian Democrats Open Congress

LD2901095590 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 0800 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Summary] The founding congress of the Lithuanian Christian Democratic Party opened in Kaunas on 29 January. Representatives of all the restored Christian Democratic groups in Lithuania are taking part. The congress also is attended by guests from Poland, Estonia, Belorussia, and Russia. The party statute, regulations, and platform were adopted on the first day of the congress.

Brazauskas Scores Calls To Withdraw Soviet Army

LD2801124990 Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Text] The first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party, Algirdas Brazauskas, has criticized the demands voiced in the republic to withdraw Soviet Army units from the republic. In his speech before Lithuanian leaders he asked them who would defend the republic in such an event. Algirdas Brazauskas spoke in favor of establishing good relations with the Soviet Army, which never interfered in Lithuania's internal affairs.

Discusses Lithuanian Issues

LD2601191590

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian at 1400 GMT on 26 January carries a 22-minute recorded interview with Algirdas Brazauskas, first secretary of the independent Lithuanian Communist Party [LCP] and chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet, by Benas Rupeika, Lithuanian Radio commentator. The date of the interview is not given; the location appears to be a room in the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Presidium building in Vilnius.

Rupeika opens the interview with a description of the room. Brazauskas says that his working conditions at the LCP Central Committee are more modest than here at the Presidium.

Speaking of being only temporary in this post, Algirdas Brazauskas says that many important issues need to be resolved in the nearest future. He says: "A session of significant size is to begin on 6 February, and this session will be the last session of this parliament, therefore, we must pay all our debts."

Rupeika interrupts, reminding Brazauskas that at the same time the CPSU Central Committee plenum will be held which will continue the investigation into this republic's affairs. Brazauskas replies: "That's right. I have an official invitation already—although the official invitation, a telegram, does not say that matters concerning the LCP will be discussed. The main issue is discussions on the CPSU platform. However, I would imagine that the second item on the agenda will be the conclusion of all this, shall I call it, case or, say, the solution of the conflict.

"I imagine that discussions on a wide scale will not be held because last time, which was not long ago, the matter was already discussed. Discussions which started in Moscow were continued here when Comrade Gorbachev and all the group arrived with him on a visit to this republic. I would think that everybody has already voiced his opinion and not just once, and I think it's time to end it."

Rupeika asks: "Would you agree that what is taking place in the Transcaucasus now is Lithuania's problems in condensed form; in other words, our political ideas, although in some cases distorted, are being tested as if in a proving ground."

Brazauskas answers: "Well, I do not entirely agree that our political ideas are the same because the conflict there started not because of political issues but because of national issues. It has only now developed into a wide stream of political demands and this has already become the main issue and the subject of this great tragedy."

Brazauskas goes on to express the wish that the Armenians and their neighbors will solve these problems and return to normal way of life.

Rupeika says that since all the weight of problems has now shifted from Lithuania to the Transcaucasus, perhaps the center has less time to think about the problems of the LCP.

Brzauskas agrees, adding: "We have been left on our own with our worries and organizational questions which we are solving at the moment. We are trying to carry out this task as quickly as possible. However, we cannot forget that not all the 'i's have been dotted and not all the 't's have been crossed, and this of course—how shall I put it—this interferes with our work to some extent. It interferes with the relations with the Communist Party which adheres to a different platform."

Rupeika says that the LCP group which remains in the CPSU claims that it will not carry out organizational work until the decision is made at the plenum.

Brazauskas answers: "I do not think that they are just waiting because there is much information that they are not just waiting but carrying out the same organizational work. We must know how many members of the independent LCP we have. I am disappointed that in some rayons and cities this work is not carried out resolutely enough. Yesterday we had a meeting with first secretaries of cities and rayons and many current issues were resolved at this meeting."

Rupeika then says: "I would like to remind you that to some extent you tried to hinder the acceleration of the separation process."

Brazauskas replies: "That's right, this was conditioned by other factors too, first of all by the actions of the other party. I do not conceal this, this is conditioned by the fact that the issue was postponed at the center. This also makes it more difficult for us. The period after the 20th congress is a time when most of the party members are thinking what will happen next and what the outcome of this conflict will be. Perhaps this is also one of the motives."

Brazauskas then calls upon all those Communists who have not yet made up their minds to do so and decide which of the two groups they want to stay in. The leader of the LCP says that the main line of LCP policy will not change and that the new structure and statute will be implemented.

Rupeika asks about the work in the Supreme Soviet Presidium. Brazauskas says that a meeting of representatives from various organizations and societies is due and that he wants to see all these people.

Rupeika asks about decisionmaking. Brazauskas replies: "I have not made many decisions as chairman." He says: "We had a lengthy discussion yesterday afternoon, there was a group of deputies, USSR deputies and also members of the Presidium, KGB Chairman Comrade Eismuntas, and we tried to resolve this conflict which has been going on for several days on the fate of the KGB archives." He says they attempted to find some solution. "I think that we must look for a way acceptable to both parties. If we have a formal attitude—and there are many departments under the union-republican administration in the republic, in industry, transport and other spheres—if we are guided by a formal attitude, we could lose a lot. Brazauskas continues: "I phoned Comrade Grechkov, KGB chairman, and explained the essence of this conflict. I asked him to understand that this is a system under double administration and one must bear this in mind permanently. No matter what the decisions from the center are they should always remember that this is an organization which is partly under the republican administration."

Rupeika opines that this wall of isolation should be demolished because distrust will always remain when something is closed, secret, or mysterious.

Brazauskas says: "I agree. The internal affairs organs are taking steps on depoliticization. Maybe, it is difficult to justify this decision legally, but there is no other way, and our all legal organs, including the KGB must be respected, understood, and acknowledged by our society."

Then Brazauskas, answering Rupeika's question about Lithuania's independence, says: "But there are very few proposals on how to achieve independence. We will never achieve independence in isolation. We must act unitedly, most important, but not interfering with each other; on the contrary, we should help each other." He continues expressing his opinion that one should proceed slowly. He says: "We all must work and feel responsibility for the results."

Rupeika describes the new office of chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium and Brazauskas explains to him that he will soon be going to his constituency to meet people in the countryside.

The interview ends.

Lithuanian Green Party Leader on Gorbachev 'Myth'

LD2801160290 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] The Sajudis daily RESPUBLIKA attempts to disperse the modern myth about Mikhail Gorbachev. The leader of the Lithuanian Green party, Zigmas Vajsvila, writes that the myth being created abroad boils down to one thing, namely, the (?haste) of the Baltic states allegedly has a destroying impact on the restructuring process. The myth is being blown up rather intensely. Perhaps it is not accidental that the United Nations warned its member-states against meeting the representatives of the Baltic Popular Fronts.

The myth, judging from Mikhail Gorbachev's speeches, will have a key role to play in moulding a negative opinion about the Baltic states. There are no other myths in store, since Lithuania cleared its breath [as heard] to Mikhail Gorbachev himself. The Lithuanians employing peaceful and parliamentarian means scared him most. Just think of it—the empire is falling to pieces. Why is Mikhail Gorbachev comparatively calm about the Transcaucasia? Why has he rushed to Lithuania? Zigmas Vajsvila believes that the recent events in Karabakh will be an eye-opener for him and suggests thinking over what Gorbachev is likely to do in order to keep control over the slipping away (?of) Lithuania or at least have influence in it. The restructuring process orchestrated by the metropolis is over for Lithuania. It (?stepped) on its own stretch of this process.

Lithuanian Reactions to Gorbachev Visit

PM2601151990 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 25 Jan 90 Second Edition p 4

[S. Balyutskiy "Review of Lithuanian Press in Recent Days": "Difficult Steps Toward the Truth"]

[Text] Vilnius—When analyzing the results of M.S. Gorbachev's trip to Lithuania, the majority of journalists from cub reporter to well-known master or editor of a popular weekly play up in one way or another the unusually warm January for Lithuania, drawing parallels between the geographic climate and the political climate.

The fairest journalists subscribe to the words which A. Brazauskas spoke at the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist

Republic Supreme Soviet session on the second day following the general secretary's departure:

"We would like Comrade M.S. Gorbachev and the others to take away with them the most favorable impression of Lithuania and its people. But today I cannot speak of their impressions. It seems to me that the opinion is ambivalent."

And he added: "But the Lithuanian Communist Party Program and Statutes are functioning, and the party organization is being reshaped. This process cannot and must not be stopped."

Others, like the newspaper TIESA, propose in their review of letters the conclusion of a treaty limited to a definite period between Lithuania and the USSR.

Yet others, and there are quite a lot of them, do not wish even to speak of any thaw. "Lithuania has not asked for meat, funds, or higher wages. Lithuania has asked for freedom," GIMTASIS KRASTAS declares. And it sums up: "The visit has changed and could change nothing."

Yet I will not agree with these conclusions. The visit changed a great deal. Take the imprint of the newspaper RESPUBLIKA itself. Since 18 January it has called itself the "newspaper of independent Lithuania." The editorial board accounts for this as follows: "The leaders of 'Sajudis' never dared to tell M. Gorbachev frankly (if, indeed, they have such an intention) that they will seek Lithuania's full **independence**". Further: "But at least let every issue of the newspaper RESPUBLIKA remind us all where we must go." This is an attempt at the now fashionable mass suggestion.

But this is not the only nor, of course, the most important change. The goal which Mikhail Sergeyevich set himself—"to think, reflect, analyze, and compare"—seems to have been achieved during his trip. This is evidenced by the "Reflections Following the Visit" by USSR People's Deputy S. Kashauskas, the writer, who was writing in the newspaper LETUVOS RIGAS. The writer puts this question in his article: Who benefits from speeches on national disagreements in the party? He answers: "No one. For it is more important than ever right now to find grounds for constructive cooperation in the name of true perestroyka and of the party itself above all."

S. Kashauskas goes on to argue: The Lithuanian nation, as long as it lives, will not renounce the idea of recreating its own state. But its fate will largely be determined by democracy in Russia. Therefore, it is necessary to strive for good and friendly relations with it, with the USSR, with the Russian people.

The economist A. Potsyus also advocates a realistic, considered assessment of the situation. "A vigorous, revolutionary path to independence, shoots of mistrust and hostility, and the destruction of partnership ties will undoubtedly create immediate unemployment," he writes in the newspaper VALSTIBES ZINES. A letter to the newspaper TIESA from Y. Dervinis of Vilnius is also couched in the same terms.

However, to claim that just such a quite rational tone is characteristic of all statements means simplifying the situation to an inadmissible degree. Far from everyone accepted the style of dialogue apparently proposed by the whole nature of M.S. Gorbachev's meetings and statements in the republic. This applies, in particular, to his proposal to submit for nationwide discussion very soon a draft law defining the mechanism for republics' secession from the USSR. Thus, an editorial article in the weekly GIMTASIS KRASTAS ironically concludes: "The 'divorce law' does not concern Lithuania at all. We did not contract marriage with the USSR but were forcibly joined with it by Hitler and Stalin."

Certain figures and journalists generally perceived the general secretary's statements just as threats. This was particularly emphasized in "Sajudis"' regular weekly television program "Wave of Rebirth," presented by USSR People's Deputy K. Uoka, member of the "Sajudis" Seimas Council.

It is not surprising that the forecasts with regard to the possible course of the CPSU Central Committee plenum and the decisions which will be adopted there also differ extremely greatly. Whereas R. Sharapayev, second secretary of Ukmergskiy Rayon party committee, is inclined to expect constructive decisions from the plenum, having voiced the hope in an interview on Lithuanian radio that M.S. Gorbachev's trip to the republic must help to find the compromise that both sides need so badly, V. Cheplyavichyute, an observer for the newspaper RESPUBLIKA, focuses readers' attention on the opportunity that the plenum supposedly has to send in tanks or stop deliveries of raw materials to the republic.

In general, "paper tanks" have recently begun maneuvering too frequently in the pages of the republic press. This is one of the methods of creating an image of a "threat from the east." Will such exaggeration not lead to a still greater worsening of the political climate in the republic itself? Signs of such a worsening are already apparent today—primarily in the increasing friction between supporters of the two Communist Parties.

They were also seen at the Lithuanian (independent) Communist Party Central Committee plenum held 19 January. There A. Chekuolis, one of the Bureau members, introduced to the republic's political vocabulary the term "party of Ceausescu supporters"--this is what he called the communists who adhere to the CPSU platform. R. Ozolas, another Bureau member, expressed himself more categorically, albeit not as maliciously, calling the Lithuanian Communist Party (on the CPSU platform) an "antistate party." This elicited the next day a mass of perplexed telephone calls to Lithuanian radio....

The central press has already reported on the decisions of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee plenum. It urged all Lithuania's Communists to be "tolerant" of different views on the processes of perestroyka in the party and to gear themselves to the chief goal of creating an independent Lithuanian state and a democratic society.

I could have ended here if it had not been for a statement that was also made from the plenum rostrum.

"The people's mood is changing constantly," S. Apinis, secretary of Kedaynskiy Rayon party committee, said. "At first everyone was for the 20th congress decisions. The CPSU Central Committee plenum was held, and doubters appeared. After the mass rallies people were once again 'for' them. Mikhail Sergeyevich came, and again they have doubts."

Well, a doubt is already a step toward the truth. It seems to me that this mood is daily becoming characteristic of an ever greater number of inhabitants of Lithuania. But it should not be thought that this is a reluctance or an inability to decide for oneself how to live in the future. Rather, it is Gorbachev's goal of "thinking, reflecting, analyzing, and comparing." But no longer only at the level of politicians but at the level of everyday consciousness. People are gaining—still only gaining!—an understanding of the whole complexity of the situation today. An understanding of our close interconnection and interdependence in the Union. Understanding that, by deciding something only in your own region and only for yourself, you will decide nothing. Because politics is the art of the possible, not the desirable.

Pre-Election Political Scene in Lithuania

90UN0705A Moscow SOYUZ in Russian
No 2, 8-14 Jan 90 p 2

[Nikolay Lashkevich telephone report: "Lithuania: Future Cannot Be Built on Foundations of Conflicts."]

[Text] Vilnius, 10 January—In the last week political events in Lithuania have changed with truly kaleidoscopic speed. A thousands-strong meeting in support of the independent Lithuanian Communist Party was held yesterday in Vilnius' Cathedral Square. Nor did the communists adhering to positions of the Lithuanian Communist Party within the CPSU remain aloof. A mass meeting whose participants supported the decision of some of the delegates to the 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress who did not recognize the independent Lithuanian Communist Party was held in the republic capital.

The republic's unions are undergoing tremendous changes. The chairman of the Lithuanian Republic Council of Trade Unions resigned at a recent plenum.

For the first time in the country an independent unofficial radio station, "M-1," which has announced as its credo "Lots of music and current news," has begun operation in the the editorial offices of the youth newspaper, which in the new year substituted for its former title of KOMYAUNIMO TIYESA ("Komsomol Truth") that of LITUVAS RITAS ("Morning of Lithuania"). Candidates for the Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet are being actively nominated. Following the name of the candidate for deputy on the candidate lists one may for the first time frequently encounter the hitherto unknown name of a social and political organization or movement and party which the candidate represents. As we can see, changes have been made to Article 6 of the republic Constitution which have in fact enshrined a multiparty system and are being realized in practice. Four or five candidates, among whom one necessarily encounters representatives of "Sajudis," the Lithuanian movement for perestroyka, who are conducting the election campaign very decisively, have already been nominated in some electoral okrugs. This year it possesses a number of particular features, as distinct from last year's elections of USSR people's deputies. Whereas earlier the confrontation of the Lithuanian Communist Party and "Sajudis" could be traced, these boundaries have now been thoroughly eroded since a whole number of well-known "Sajudis" figures has become a part of the executive bodies of the Lithuanian Communist Party. Thus almost half the elected members and candidates of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau are "Sajudis" representatives. The idea of the creation of a common front expressed back at the 20th congress is hereby starting to be embodied in practice to a certain extent. True, this cooperation and search for compromise are not evoking positive emotions in all members of "Sajudis". The resolution "Attitude Toward the Present Lithuanian Communist Party," which contains, inter alia, the following words: "The Sejm will support the actions of the Lithuanian Communist Party leadership which might prove useful for the restoration of the Lithuanian state," was adopted after lengthy debate.

At the end of last week the newspapers published the Lithuanian Communist Party program adopted at the 20th congress. I shall give you some quite eloquent quotations:

"A principal aim of the Lithuanian Communist Party is the revival of the general humanitarian values contained in the original ideas of socialism. This aim may be realized only given restoration of the sovereignty of the Lithuanian state...."

"The Lithuanian Communist Party does not recognize the priority of any class or social group of society."

"...The aspirations of Lithuanian people may be satisfied most fully by a multiparty system."

"...The Lithuanian Communist Party is opposed to the ideologization of science, culture, education, information...."

"All forms of the economy and effective ownership are equal."

But the most important event has undoubtedly been the arrival in Lithuania of a group of participants in the CPSU Central Committee plenum. V.A. Medvedev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Yu.D. Maslyukov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, and members and candidates of the CPSU Central Committee, who came to Lithuania at the beginning of this week, have already met with the outfits of enterprises of Vilnius, Kaunas, Snechkus, Klaypeda, and other cities and visited a number of rural areas of the republic. An intensive exchange of opinions is under way on the factors which prompted the Lithuanian Communist Party to adopt such positions, the opinion of the party rank and file is being elicited locally and an active search for mutually acceptable solutions is under way. At a press conference on Tuesday V. Berezov, second secretary of the Central Committee, and Academician E. Vilkas, people's deputy of the USSR, answered the question: "What do you expect from M.S. Gorbachev's visit?" Almost identically, as a result of the visit the reasons for the adoption of such extraordinary party decisions would be elucidated and that there would be detailed familiarization with the republic's problems. And, that this in turn, would make it possible to prepare for continuation of the CPSU Central Committee plenum and find sufficiently convincing arguments to persuade the Central Committee members that the step taken at the 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress was a step in the direction of perestroyka. We hope that a compromise solution will be found. In any event, the complex situation which has arisen must undoubtedly be resolved by political means. The path of confrontation both between the CPSU and the independent Lithuanian Communist Party and between the two Lithuanian communist parties is one of equal futility.

It is difficult as yet to call relations between them benevolent. This strain is involuntarily filtering through into the primary party organizations, where each communist is now deciding for himself the difficult question: Who's side to be on? A questionnaire, by means of which the positions of each party member were ascertained, was distributed recently, for example, among the communists in the party organization of Shirvintskiy Rayon's "Shirvinta" Kolkhoz [Collective Farm], where I recently attended a party meeting. Of the 130 persons, only one declared that he had joined the Lithuanian Communist Party within the framework of the CPSU, 15 others had yet to decide. As you know, by 31 March of this year—the date of the final formation of the party ranks of the independent Lithuanian Communist Party—the number of members of the essentially new party will have been ascertained as clearly as can be and other organizational matters will have been decided. It will have become clear how many people the Lithuanian Communist Party within the CPSU will number also. As yet, the secretaries of the provisional Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee maintain, the ranks of supporters of the party sticking to the standpoints of the CPSU number from 40,000 to 60,000 communists. It cannot be ruled out that the number of members of the two communist parties will thin out considerably, which, incidentally, happened in the course of the above-mentioned party meeting. Ten persons quit the party right away the same day. Such an outcome of the interparty confrontation has to be taken into consideration, the more so in that this process had already developed last year. Thus whereas in 1988 some 4,825 new members joined the Lithuanian Communist Party, and 836 left, in 11 months of 1989 only 847 joined, and 6,771 left, that is, these figures just about changed places in virtually an identical proportion.

However, the popularity of the independent Lithuanian Communist Party with its own program and status (rules) [as published] has increased sharply as of late, to which not only the mass meetings but also the results of a sociological survey conducted recently by people working at the Center for Study of Public Opinion of the Lithuanian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy, Sociology, and Law testify.

More than 80 percent of those polled evaluated the creation of an independent Lithuanian Communist Party positively. But, perhaps, the most surprising thing was that the rating of the independent Lithuanian Communist Party constituted plus 73, but that of "Sajudis," far less, plus 65. For comparison: The rating obtained at the end of last November constituted plus 16 and plus 60 respectively. If elections were held today, 38 percent of those polled would vote for the Lithuanian Communist Party, 27 percent for "Sajudis" and 8 percent for the Lithuanian Communist Party on a CPSU platform. The conclusion that suggests itself, according to the study, which was conducted, incidentally, in accordance with the procedure approved in many countries, is that on the threshold of the February elections to the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet the Lithuanian Communist Party has made a successful tactical move. However, it would hardly make sense flattering oneself with such gratifying figures for figures can change quickly.

I shall cite one further essential detail: Only 12 percent of those polled advocated the renunciation of cooperation with the CPSU. The majority of the remainder supported a continuation of interparty ties on an equal basis. So the talk about a total severance of relations with the CPSU which is sometimes heard in the country lacks a sufficiently cogent basis, as also the assertion that the formation of an independent Lithuanian Communist Party would immediately be followed by the formation of an independent Lithuanian state. Yes, this goal is one of the main ones in the new Lithuanian Communist Party program. But it may be achieved, as emphasized repeatedly by the leaders of the Lithuanian Communist Party, merely in the course of an ongoing process with its own stages, immediate goals, and strategy. In other words, the acquisition of independence is not a one-time act. The idea that the existence of an independent state is possible also within the framework of a renewed USSR, a union of sovereign states, in which all states would be equal, is being heard increasingly often now. Accordingly, the problem of independence, which has clearly confronted us for the first time, cannot be approached unambiguously. Dramatizing the situation, competing in discussion and emotions, and failing to take account of the [word illegible] social and political situation in Lithuania would, in my view, be extraordinarily dangerous.

Independent Lithuanian Party Program

90UN0670A Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 5 Jan 90 pp 1, 2

[Independent Lithuanian Communist Party Program adopted at 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress in Vilnius on 21 December: "Lithuanian Communist Party Program"]

[Text] The revival of Lithuania, the endeavor to restore national statehood, the economic and political situation in the USSR and the republic, perestroyka, the processes of democratization and glasnost connected therewith—all this confronts the Lithuanian Communist Party with entirely new tasks. The interests of a Lithuanian people enjoying rebirth and all people of Lithuania may be expressed by an independent Lithuanian Communist Party with its own program and statute.

The aim of the Lithuanian Communist Party is a democratic society which embodies the main humanitarian ideals of socialism—freedom of the individual and social justice.

This aim may be achieved only in an independent, democratic Lithuanian state. The restoration of Lithuania's statehood is a priority mission of the Lithuanian Communist Party.

The independent Lithuanian Communist Party is guided by the contemporary concept of the materialist dialectics of social development. Evaluating critically its past and theoretical heritage, the Lithuanian Communist Party is prepared henceforth to proceed together with the Lithuanian people and all people of Lithuania.

I. Original Aims of Communists and Their Subsequent Deformation

The aims and tasks of the Lithuanian Communist Party proceed from the West European communist movement, whose program was formulated 150 years ago by Marx and Engels in "The Communist Manifesto." According to the latter, the essence of the communists' actions is man's release from economic oppression, social chaos, and alienation. The solution is socialism, which communists perceive as an association in which the free development of each is the condition of universal free development.

The communists justified the aims of their activity by the Marxist social and historical concept. The question of property was posed as the main question of the entire movement.

The communists did not aspire to the socialization of personal property, that is, the property which man acquired by means of his own labor. They believed that as long as man's individual labor predominated in social production, socialism was impossible, for under such conditions socialism would be a utopia whose achievement would represent neither economic nor social progress.

The communists related socialist aims only to private property which in the course of natural production development had become public. Private use of production which is by nature public is incompatible with its nature: It engenders class contradictions and exploitation. The communists aspired to the elimination of the class nature of public ownership.

Socialism was understood not as a condition of society that may be introduced in any environment and at any time but as a system of economic relationships whose prerequisites naturally arise in industrial societies. These prerequisites are various, and communist activity is determined by the national states in which it had to spread.

The communists hoped to embody the ideals of socialism in practice by means of struggle for political power. They identified possession of political power with the winning of democracy. That socialism is possible only given the will of a majority of society went without saying for the communists. Violent struggle should be conducted only against the resistance of private interest which impedes the democratic self-manifestation of the political will of society.

The reasons for the crisis which enveloped the Communist Party and the society of "real socialism" were dogmatism and voluntarist actions and also the structural changes of society which they engendered. The negative consequences of this deformation may be clearly seen. Their most consummate theoretical and practical expression was Stalinism.

So simplistically an interpreted socialism as the reference point of political activity in economically backward countries created the disastrous illusion of the possibility of overstepping natural historical periods. But only in a developed society may a natural opportunity for socialism emerge.

Incapable of overcoming the private nature of production, the communists blindly began a struggle against all private property, even that acquired by personal labor. Socialism came to be recognized as the compulsory socialization of all conditions of production. It assumed clear utopian features.

The compulsory liquidation of private property and the suppression of individual activity and personal initiative undermined the roots which nurture social production. Having compulsorily socialized virtually the entire economy, the state centralized management established an administrative-bureaucratic system.

The endeavor to build socialism under nationalized conditions of production without regard for the actual level of society's development converted it into a hierarchical, directly controlled pyramidal system. The Stalinist definition of the dictatorship of the proletariat considered normal and called democratic the phenomenon whereby the peasants were directed by the workers, the workers, by the party, and the party, by its chiefs. The principles of the democratic state were turned upside down.

This political structure in principle altered the status of the Communist Party: A political party, which via competition with other parties should seek recognition of its program platform in a democratic state, in practice became the sole predominant political force of society. This party justified its exclusive political position by the fact that it considered itself the mind, will, and conscience of society.

According to its original aims, the Communist Party was called on to open new vistas of historical progress to society. However, it became the chief component and defender of an outmoded and anachronistic social structure.

II. Basic Goals and Principles of Activity of Lithuanian Communist Party

A principal goal of the Lithuanian Communist Party is the resurrection of the general humanitarian values contained in the original ideas of socialism. This goal may be realized only given the restoration of a sovereign Lithuanian state.

An independent, democratic Lithuanian state may be created only by the cohesive efforts of people of all nationalities living on the territory of the republic and only with the centuries-old historical traditions of the Lithuanian people being taken as a reference point. In such a state its citizens independently decide all political, economic, social, cultural, and other questions. This is a state in which the people's national aspirations are the basis and landmark for the realization of interethnic concord.

The Lithuanian Communist Party rejects the dogmatic interpretation of Marxism-Leninism and the fetishization of remote utopian goals and refutes the theories justifying and serving Stalinism and stagnation. It condemns those who contributed to the repression of totally innocent people of Lithuania and the Lithuanian people's loss of statehood. The Lithuanian Communist Party condemns the cult of force and militarist state policy.

Taking an emphatic turn onto the path of democracy and considering the social changes in present-day society, the Lithuanian Communist Party does not recognize the priority of any one class or social group of society. Values common to all mankind and the aims and interests of the Lithuanian people and all people of Lithuania take precedence over their class counterparts.

The Lithuanian Communist Party is convinced that the aspirations of the people of Lithuania may be satisfied most fully by a multiparty system. It alone guarantees in-depth political dialogue and democratic competition. Equal rights and opportunities of the activity of parties are determined by the Constitution. The party struggles for its place in the political life of the republic with its ideas, capacity for realizing them, and ability to attract people and unite them for purposive activity and also by its moral authority.

The Lithuanian Communist Party advocates social progress based on the experience of the Lithuanian people and the peoples of the whole world and all humanitarian democratic parties and movements and rejects the division of peoples and states into enemies and friends according to the principle of their social system. The Lithuanian Communist Party cooperates with the communist parties and democratic movements of other countries of the world.

For the purpose of the humanization of all spheres of social life, the Lithuanian Communist Party opposes putting science, culture, education, and information into a form of ideology and supports the development, free of political diktat, of all these processes of social activity by the natural path. The party does not lay claim to a monopoly of the truth and justice. It champions freedom of speech and the citizens' creative and spiritual self-expression. Only political pluralism guarantees genuine democracy and prevents totalitarianism. The creation of a democratic society means the enshrinement in principle of new relations between the state, society, and the individual.

The citizens express their sovereign will by participation in referenda. They democratically elect their representatives to the organs of power and enjoy the right to recall them. Political power is achieved only through democratic elections.

Separating its functions from those of the state and economic authorities, the Lithuanian Communist Party exercises its political course by political measures. State economic policy must be effective. The party should propose the strategy of implementation of such a model of the state.

The efforts of the church pertaining to a recovery of society's morality are appreciable. Communists are united by political ends. Freedom of belief is a principle of communists' actions.

Lithuania's future depends on the younger generation. The material and social prerequisites for the all-around development of the youth are essential. The Lithuanian Communist Youth League is the ideological partner of the Lithuanian Communist Party. It maintains relations with all youth organizations acting for the good of Lithuania.

Guided by these political and program propositions, the Lithuanian Communist Party aspires to:

—An independent Lithuanian state, this being an opportunity for the Lithuanian people and all people of Lithuania to independently decide all questions of the political, economic, and cultural life of Lithuania;
—A democratic Lithuanian state, that is, to guarantee by legislation for all citizens of Lithuania equal socioeconomic and cultural rights and freedom, regardless of nationality and beliefs;
—A socialist Lithuanian state.

Socialism is not an ideal outline and not a model imposed by compulsion. It is an endeavor to develop the material and spiritual forces of society, eliminate social inequality, humanize human relationships and encourage interest in labor. Only labor creates a real basis for social justice. The Lithuanian Communist Party offers a socialism painted in the colors of Lithuania which would embody eternal values common to all mankind: man, the family, the people.

III. Social, Economic, and Environmental Policy of the Lithuanian Communist Party

The main aim of the Lithuanian Communist Party's economic policy is the prosperity of Lithuania's citizens. It is achieved via a renunciation of command-administrative control of the economy and by means of transition to an economy based on market laws. For the achievement of social justice it is essential to combine:
—High economic efficiency and humanitarian goals;
—Differentiated pay and social safeguards for all groups of the population;
—The formation of economically substantiated prices and a socially purposive official pricing policy;
—High productivity and the general employment of the able-bodied population;
—The priority of economically efficient forms of ownership and methods of the organization of labor and their diversity;
—The dissimilar economic efficiency of individual sectors of the economy and the need to preserve particular ratios thereof providing for the stability of socioeconomic development.

Interaction of the political, social, and economic mechanisms should ensure the development of all forms of ownership and forms of the organization of labor and their interchangeability in the course of competitive struggle. All forms of economically efficient ownership have equal rights.

The development of production and the structure of the economy should be made dependent on the needs of Lithuania's inhabitants and the demands of the market. Commodity-money equilibrium and the optimum structure of the economy are realized via the encouragement of commodity production, some of the means of production being transferred to the employees, unemployment offices set up, and a uniform credit and finance system being formed here.

An essential condition of economic sovereignty is an autonomous system of the formation of finances, credit, and the budget, and a flexible policy of prices and taxes and also other economic levers enhancing production efficiency and changing people's attitudes toward labor and property. The basis of socioeconomic policy is an orientation primarily toward man's interest in labor.

Rationalization of the economic system should be related to the freeing of market mechanisms. For this there is need for a transitional period, during which it is essential:
—To delegate property relations "downward," that is, to denationalize some sectors of the economy (primarily services and agriculture) to some extent;
—To demonopolize the economy (eliminate monopoly effects, avoid the diktat of the producer over the consumer);
—To develop an anti-inflation strategy.

The economy is the unity of material and nonmaterial production. A correct correlation must be preserved between them. Nonmaterial production is not secondary. Medicine, science, and education, just as industry or agriculture, are equivalent preconditions for the development of the modern economy.

Sectors of the social infrastructure demand priority attention since Lithuania is insufficiently rich in natural resources. For this reason it is necessary to develop information-intensive, labor-intensive, and science-intensive production. It is necessary to consistently reorganize the structure of the economy and integrate it in the system of the international division of labor.

Scientific knowledge and technical progress are the principal reserve of economic and social development. The harmonious development of the basic and applied sciences is essential. It creates the prerequisites for progress which is most in keeping with Lithuania's conditions and encourages Lithuania's economy to participate on the international market.

All forms of ownership which make the farmer the real master of the means of production, independent, enterprising, and resourceful, are possible in agriculture. Equal economic operating opportunities for the kolkhozes [collective farms], sovkhozes [state farms], joint-stock enterprises, companies, cooperatives, peasant farms, and other financially autonomous outfits are needed. As is people's freedom to themselves to choose how they will work and live.

At the state level the farmers' interests are to be defended by economic and social measures. The basic stimulus to the development of production should be competition, cooperative and integration relations, and flexible price and taxation policy.

Economic relations with the republics of the Soviet Union and other countries are based on mutually profitable agreements. Lithuania should obtain currency proceeds for the use of the natural and production infrastructure of the republic (ports, transit, resorts and tourism, and the like).

Only a society which is capable of preserving harmony with nature and achieving the effective combination of the development of the economy and the interests of nature conservation has possibilities of historical development. Ecological balance, the scientifically substantiated solution of nature-conservation problems, and the legal and economic realization of the rules of ecology are essential. Industrial production which is damaging to the environment is to be replaced by ecologically clean production. Permanent supervision of the state of the environment and glasnost with respect to its results and the production of biologically valuable foodstuffs are essential. The essence of ecological policy is preservation of natural recreation resources and man.

The Lithuanian Communist Party will strive for the realization of social justice and social safeguards in the event of accident, disease, incapacity, and unemployment. The subsistence level of a citizen of Lithuania may not be lower than an established and adjustable poverty line. Earnings are adjusted in accordance with changes in the price index.

It is essential to create for each family conditions for it to have a self-contained apartment, to assist those building cooperative and individual homes, and to render young and large families socioeconomic assistance.

IV. The Lithuanian Communist Party's Nationality Policy

The interests of the Lithuanian people and all inhabitants of Lithuania are based on equality, mutual assistance, and cooperation. The declaratory policy of internationalism is rejected and great-power chauvinism and the claims of any nation to exclusiveness are condemned. All nations are equal before the law. Genuine internationalism is inconceivable without realization of nations' right to self-determination. Only an alliance of nations which is founded on a voluntary approach and equal partnership may be legitimate and genuine. A correct nationality policy may be pursued only by a sovereign state based on democratic laws and consistently pursuing a democratic policy.

In the years of Stalinism and stagnation the democratic principles of nationality policy were flouted. Pursuing a unitary policy and a policy of the merger of the nations, the CPSU failed to express and defend the interests of Lithuanians and other nations living in Lithuania. The dogmatic, conservative, and aggressive ideology and policy of those years masked by imaginary proletarian internationalism was essentially antinational. The counterpoise of class and national solidarity reflected in the Stalinist doctrine of the merger of the nations was not substantiated theoretically and was in practice reactionary. Man's natural socialization has always been conditioned nationally and, consequently, takes place in this nation or the other. National culture and its defense and preservation are the basis on which free political life may develop. A state which ignores national culture destroys its own foundation.

Lithuania without sovereignty is a Lithuania without a future. Only national statehood guarantees the Lithuanian people preservation and free self-expression.

Originating in the 13th century, the history of Lithuanian national statehood has been complex and dramatic. Its national and political experience is deeply rooted in the people's consciousness. Lithuanian people have down the ages been characterized by tolerance in respect of other peoples and religions.

Lithuania's present-day aspiration to independence is not directed against the interests of any other state and is not contrary to international law and the peaceful coexistence of nations and states. The Lithuanian Communist Party is prepared for unification with other democratic political forces in the name of creation of the conditions of the free expression of all people of Lithuania.

Free and equal relations with all peoples and states of the world create the prerequisites for mutually profitable and diverse cooperation. National statehood has nothing in common with national exclusiveness and egocentrism.

All citizens of Lithuania enjoy equal rights. Their participation in the administration of the state depends not on an individual's nationality but only on his competence.

National education is constructed on the ideals of humanism and the democratic traditions of the Lithuanian and other peoples. Without a fostering of love and respect for one's people and their accumulated values it is impossible to raise a real internationalist perceiving his people not egocentrically but in the context of the world community of nations. The party is opposed to chauvinism, nationalism, cosmopolitanism, and discrimination against peoples. Concern will be displayed in Lithuania for the education and culture of the national minorities, and conditions will be created for them to maintain ties to their historical homeland.

The territory of Lithuania is single and indivisible both economically and politically. The Lithuanian Communist Party is opposed to division into individual national areas.

The specific causes of national disagreements are removable. The causes of many interethnic contradictions are political and social and are connected with the Lithuanian people's loss of national statehood. The elimination of the consequences of annexation will create real conditions for self-determination for the Lithuanian people and the removal of the basic causes of interethnic disagreements.

The main guarantee of the self-expression of the Lithuanian people and the entire Lithuanian population is a free, democratic, and indivisible Lithuanian state, its constitution and other legislative instruments.

V. The Party and Culture

Creating and developing its own culture, each people thereby proceeds along the path of its own progress and that common to all mankind. Losing distinctiveness, national culture sinks into decline, exerting at the same time a disastrous influence on the general level of social life and thinking.

In the years of Stalinism the erosion of the national cultures began and intensified on account of the loss or lack of national political sovereignty. This is a most important principle of the current social crisis. Man becomes flustered, the personality is degraded, and spiritual ideals and moral values disappear. The diktat of the center has been predominant in all spheres of culture. The principles of linguistic equality have been violated. The Lithuanian language has vanished completely from many fields of learning and activity. The teaching and educational system has been standardized and divorced from national traditions and lost its national basis. Patriotic feelings have been suppressed. These menacing trends may only be halted by way of a revival of national self-awareness and spirituality.

Recognizing the principle of freedom of creativity, the Lithuanian Communist Party advocates the independence of the artistic unions and organizations, comprehensive support for them, a diversity of artistic methods and schools, styles, and forms, and the publication, exposition, demonstration, and use of works of art not subject to administrative and censorship restrictions unless these works are liable to manifestations of racism, chauvinism, national enmity, militarism, violence, pornography, and other tendencies inimical to morality.

The Lithuanian Communist Party advocates free, politically unrestricted international cooperation in the field of culture. The level and distinctiveness of national culture may be correctly perceived only in the context of world culture.

The all-around development of culture should be our general concern. It is essential that the entire heritage of national culture be returned and be accessible to the Lithuanian people and the other nations living in Lithuania.

The state, the unions, and various foundations and patrons should render the artists politically unrestricted assistance and display concern for their work and social conditions. Publishing houses, theaters, and concert establishments operate on conditions of competition. "Commercial" art and the diktat of mass culture must not hold sway.

The Lithuanian Communist Party is critical of the class understanding of morality suppressing national feelings and those common to all mankind. The ideals of morality are not divisible. The educational process is connected with the molding of a feeling of love for one's family and people, the motherland and all peoples of the world, with an aspiration to friendship, freedom, social justice, and peace, with industriousness and a sober lifestyle, with self-sacrifice in the name of others and with tolerance regarding people of other beliefs.

Efforts geared to the burgeoning of art and the indivisibility and continuity of national art are essential. National culture, which has been and is being created in Lithuania and outside, in the past and at the present time and by believers and atheists and people of this political belief or the other, is a common process. It should be guarded by society and the state as national property. The autonomy of artistic creativity is an essential condition of its natural development. All institutions of the propaganda of art are ideologically independent. The artistic organizations, scientific establishments, and educational institutions operate independently.

The methods of creativity and its forms and the evaluation of the aesthetic standard and direction of artistic activity are the concern of the artists themselves, criticism, science, the press, and the artistic unions.

Science should be the main stimulus of progress. The party supports and encourages in every possible way the efforts of the state to create the material and spiritual conditions which guarantee the free and natural development of all branches of science and education and supports the autonomy of the activity of research establishments and institutions of higher education.

It is essential to restore and consolidate the prestige of the liberal arts and aspire to a humanitarian orientation of all scientific activity. The social sciences must be freed from binding ideological cliches.

The main direction of the activity of the natural sciences is the development of basic research and the creation of new, resource-saving technology and substantiation of the rational correlation of basic and applied research with regard for the requirements and science and production potential of Lithuania.

All engineering and economic projects must be studied and evaluated with regard to their impact on culture and the environment.

Science develops on the basis of world achievements and is supported by active cooperation with the scientists of other countries. The main attention is paid to the study of Lithuania's social development and the modeling of efficient structures of the independent state. The republic's science serves humanism and democracy, the strengthening of peace and people's well-being. It is based on scientists' moral responsibility for their work and its results.

Specialists' training in Lithuania's educational institutions should correspond to the republic's economic and cultural requirements. It would be expedient to endeavor to train specialists, of rare specialties particularly outside of the republic also. The basis of Lithuania's education is the national high school and higher educational institutions of a liberal arts focus. The party seeks to ensure that schooling and education adopt national, historical, and cultural traditions and the people's moral principles. The school must educate the citizen of Lithuania—an independent and critically minded individual who loves his motherland and works for the good of its people.

Program adopted at the 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress on 21 December 1989 in Vilnius.

Vigil Outside Archives in Vilnius Continues

LD2701003790 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] For the third day running vigil is being kept outside the building of the State Security Committee in Vilnius to prevent the transportation of archives. As we have reported already, the problem of the Security Committee's archives was debated yesterday at a sitting of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, which was attended by members of an ad hoc Parliamentary commission on archives and Chairman of the State Security Committee Eduardas Eismontas. We presented a detailed report about the sitting in yesterday's broadcast. Today it turned out that during the sitting a call was put through to Chairman of the Soviet Union's State Security Committee Vladimir Kryuchkov following Eduardos Eismontas' statement that he would let the deputies inspect the archives only on Moscow's permission. Chairman of the Soviet Union's State Security Committee Vladimir Kryuchkov refused to grant such a permission.

Meanwhile, the main official Lithuanian daily, the TIESA, today unexpectedly carried an open letter by a security officer addressed to the chairman of the Security Committee. The letter is signed by Major (Alfonsas Rubis) from the Kaunas Security Department. He writes addressing his chief:

In your public speeches you have been claiming that security officers are doing a lot for the benefit of restructuring. One thing, however, is said, another is thought and yet another is done. Major (Alfonsas Rubis) writes that there are people in the security bodies who want to keep pace with time, but their voice goes unheeded. It must be pointed out here that some time ago 38 security officers published an open letter stating their support of the road chosen by the independent Lithuanian Communist Party.

Major (Alfonsas Rubis) is very outspoken in his criticism of some high-ranking officials, referring to them as the old guard. Among those he listed Colonel (Baikanas), recently appointed vice chairman of the Security Committee, and General (Paplauskas). This list could be continued, Major (Alfonsas Rubis) says.

Decree Voids Some USSR Laws in Lithuania

90UN0643C Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 14 Dec 89 p 3

[Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Resolution: "On Suspension of Certain Resolutions of USSR Supreme Soviet in Territory of Lithuania SSR (Soviet Socialist Republic)"]

[Text] On the basis of Article 70 of the LiSSR [Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic] Constitution, the LiSSR Supreme Soviet**resolves:** To suspend, beginning 1 October 1989, Item 2 of the USSR Supreme Soviet Resolution dated 3 August 1989 "On Taxation of the Payroll Fund of State Enterprises (Organizations)" and the USSR Supreme Soviet Resolution dated 26 September 1989 "On Measures to Regulate the Increment in Funds Directed Towards Payment of Wages to Cooperatives in the Sphere of Production and Services, to Lessee Organizations and Enterprises of Other Social Organizations" on Lithuanian territory.

V. Astrauskas, chairman of the Presidium of the LiSSR Supreme Soviet.

L. Sabutis, secretary of the Presidium of the LiSSR Supreme Soviet.

Vilnius, 7 December 1989.

Belorussian Adopted as 'State Language'

LD2601180290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1701 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Minsk, 26 Jan. (BELTA-TASS)—Discussion of the draft law "on languages in the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR]" has been under way in the republic for more than 4 months. Today, a session of the republican Supreme Soviet reviewed its results.

The Belorussian language has become the state language. A document adopted by the deputies also defines the status of the Russian language as the language of interethnic contact. It lays down the right of every citizen in the republic freely to employ the Russian language and to be educated in it.

As was noted at the session, granting the Belorussian language the status of state language will make it possible for representatives of all nationalities living in the republic to gain a better acquaintance with the cultural values of the Belorussian people and to bolster the attention paid to the development of its national culture and history.

The law provides for measures aimed at the comprehensive development of the other languages of the peoples of the USSR whose representatives live in the republic.

Minsk Tests Cable Television

LD2501130790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1130 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Text] As is well known, cable television is part of our future, and today, we have been told from Minsk that cable television has begun transmitting news videos in one of the city rayons. This is a test run, after which thousands of city's inhabitants will be able to watch programs on one of the channels on Thursday. The service will include rayon news, up-to-date militia reports, and addresses by deputies and city leaders. At the moment all the work is being done on a voluntary basis, but eventually it is proposed to introduce commercial television to all rayons of the city.

Ukraniological University Opens in Kiev

LD2501132590 Kiev in Ukrainian to North America 2200 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Text] The International Ukrainological University has been opened in the capital of the Ukraine. Among its staff will be leading scientists, writers, literary critics, artists, and actors. They will present lectures on Ukrainian history and culture. Representatives of the Ukrainian diaspora will be invited to participate in its work.

Kiev Rally Urges Nationalities To Renew Society

LD2801230590 Moscow World Service in English 2000 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] Thousands of people in the Ukrainian capital, Kiev, have joined in a rally to call for a cohesion of the local ethnic communities. It was held near an old factory building, one of whose walls is covered with bullet and shell marks. They appeared 72 years ago, when an armed uprising broke out in the city and helped to establish Soviet government in the Ukraine.

Speakers called on the Soviet nationalities to take a (?joint) strenuous effort to renew society. They described it as the only way out of the country's complex situation.

Russian Nationalist Rally Held in Moscow

LD2701153290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1416 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, 27 Jan (TASS)—A 1,500-strong rally took place here today under the slogan "For the Rebirth of Russia." It was organized by the bloc of socio-patriotic movements. Candidates in the elections for people's deputies of the Russian Federation and representatives of several informal associations, who addressed the rally, spoke with alarm about the republic's complex economic, political, and social situation. The need was stated for the prompt creation of a Russian Communist Party, a Russian Academy of Sciences, and a number of Russian state institutions.

However, along with proposals directed at tackling the problems facing society, the rally heard openly nationalist calls as well as criticism of some periodicals and television programs that are allegedly disseminating Russophobic attitudes.

The rally participants appealed to the peoples of Armenia and Azerbaijan to put an end to the bloodshed and to begin the search for a peaceful way of settling the conflict. A decision was adopted to set up a public fund to assist Russian refugees from the Transcaucasus and to organize the collection of money for their use.

Vorotnikov Chairs RSFSR Presidium 24 Jan

LD2401173190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Text] A session of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium took place today. The issue of preparations for the elections of the Russian Federation, autonomous republic, and local soviet deputies was examined. The session approved a plan of principal organizational measures for preparing the first congress of RSFSR People's Deputies and the first session of Russia's Supreme Soviet. Other issues of the republic's state life were also discussed.

The session was chaired by Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

RSFSR Leadership Bodies' Election Appeal

PM2601153590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Jan 90 Second Edition p 1

["Appeal to Peoples of Soviet Russia from CPSU Central Committee Russian Bureau, RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and RSFSR Council of Ministers"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] Comrades! We appeal to everyone who values the fate of Russia and the fate of our entire multiracial socialist fatherland.

On 4 March you will be voting for those who will represent you on the republic and local soviets of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR]. We call on you to make this choice responsibly and to elect as people's deputies those who are capable of serving the people's welfare and advancing Russia's renewal.

There are many urgent problems in the RSFSR. These are included in the voters' mandates which form the basis of the election platforms collectively elaborated in the autonomous republics, krays, oblasts, national okrugs, and many cities and rayons. For all their diversity they also have much in common. These points in common naturally coincide with the content of the CPSU Central Committee's election appeal to the Soviet people and include a fundamental aspiration to develop socialism, to maintain the union of equal Soviet peoples, and to augment it with new content. Russians, irrespective of their ethnic origins, think of themselves solely as part of the united Soviet family—that, it can be said, is the main mandate from Russian voters. Equally unanimous is the demand to resolutely accelerate perestroyka both in the republic and in the country as a whole in order to ensure that it produces tangible results in the very near future.

The CPSU Central Committee Russian Bureau, the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the RSFSR Council of Ministers support everything that is constructive in these platforms and mandates. Their implementation provides a basis for Russia's economic and spiritual improvement, without which progress by the country as a whole will be inconceivable.

The reforms in the republic are taking place before our very eyes—the elections are a further real embodiment of reform. Russia is great, but the demands on it are great, too. Its historic responsibility for the fate of the motherland—the USSR—is great. Russian patriotism and identity have nothing and should have nothing in common with national arrogance. At the same time, it would be wrong to underestimate Russians' contribution to the formation of the socialist state, to the surmounting of backwardness, to the defense of the fatherland, and to perestroyka.

The attempts to cast aspersions on its peoples and to reproach them for having some special, virtually privileged, position are undeserved. There are many problems in the RSFSR. The unfavorable demographic trends and the cases of Russia's natural resources being squandered are common knowledge. The deformations that were committed and the Stalin era perhaps hit Russia hardest of all.

How can we fail to be concerned about the problems of such an age-old Russian region as the Non-Chernozem Zone? There is a difficult ecological situation in the Kuzbass, the Urals, the Volga, Lake Baykal, and the northern regions. There is concern about the fate of the numerically small peoples of the North, Siberia, and the Far East. A number of Russia's krays, oblasts, and autonomous formations are clearly behind other parts of the country in terms of social services. The question of the maintenance and restoration of priceless monuments associated with the history and character of the Russian and other peoples is acute.

The solution to these acute problems is to be found in perestroyka. Not only social justice, but ethnic justice is being increasingly asserted in the country. Entire peoples are regaining their good name. What is happening today can be called the rehabilitation of the truth itself. This process concerns all peoples and all Soviet republics, including Russia. From time immemorial the truth has been a subject of Russian people's innermost moral longings.

Citizens' aspirations and the growth in their self-awareness is placing on the agenda the question of granting Russia all the rights which determine state sovereignty. State institutions, including the main state institution—the Supreme Soviet—are being modernized. The transformation of the republic's parliament into a bicameral body is in line with the more harmonious representation of Russia's national interests. Republic social organizations are being set up. There has been an increase in Russia's spiritual potential, which is linked in a highly extensive ramified system with the cultural and intellectual strata of all republics, enriching them and being enriched in its turn. The formation of a Russian Academy of Sciences will serve the republic. New republic newspapers and journals are being opened. Russian television and radio services are being set up and there is even talk of a news agency.

In the economy there has been a shift toward the resolution of social tasks. But on the whole the national economy is not yet accelerating enough. How can we get the republic out of this holdup? A real way out is provided by the decisions of the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies. The major and original measures to improve the economy proposed by the government and enriched during the congress discussion coincided with the Congress' unanimous opinion on the need to considerably accelerate the adoption of laws to move forward our economy—the Russian economy included—in a new and more modern fashion. The measures elaborated constitute an economic concept for getting out of the prevailing situation. This year, 1990, will be fundamental in this respect. It is the patriotic duty of each labor collective to prevent interruptions and to fulfill their annual plans!

Supporting the transition to self-financing and self-management, the RSFSR actively advocates full control over its economic potential and raw material resources, the development of high-tech sectors, and equal [ekvivalentnyy] trade turnover between republics. It favors ensuring that the proportion of funds channeled into the union budget by each republic be equally proportional and that material prosperity should correspond to labor input.

We advocate changing the face of Soviet Russia, reviving its big and small cities, villages, and settlements, accelerating housing construction, improving the quality of housing, and expanding the network of well-equipped hospitals, schools, and health and cultural enlightenment institutions. We want clean skies for Russia, sparkling rivers, and thriving forests.

Advocating the development of individual labor and cooperative activity, we call on local soviets to step up the struggle against the black economy, speculation, all those who prey on our difficulties, and phenomena which increase tension and lead to a decline in morals.

We advocate economic accountability, which is designed to promote equal [ekvivalentnyy] ties and the careful utilization and restoration of resources. But it should not be a factor of parochial isolationism or an obstacle to mutually advantageous integration processes. There is no such thing and can be no such thing as genuine freedom in an ethnically inward-looking region! The RSFSR will continue its practice of never shutting itself off from the country's other peoples behind a wall of alienation.

National rebirth is inconceivable without the assertion of justice in everything—be it the position of workers, pensioners, children, young people, women, men, families, single people, and other peoples whether small or millions-strong. Nobody should be forgotten or offended in this area. We also need to strengthen order and legality in every possible way. Perestroyka can win an irreversible and lasting victory only through joint creative work which unites people and peoples rather than driving them into various bolt-holes.

As a complex national entity, the RSFSR—whose enormous territory is inhabited by more than 100 peoples—advocates unconditional respect for and expansion of their rights, national identity, mutual understanding, and friendship. It advocates real independence [samostoyatelnost] for autonomous entities and improvements to the opportunities available to them. Sharing the CPSU platform "The Party's Nationalities Policy Under Present-Day Conditions," Russians believe that it needs to be actively implemented in order not to lag behind the processes taking place in this extremely sensitive sphere.

Our society should provide all the conditions for each family and citizen to feel comfortable in any ethnic environment or any place in the Soviet Union. Thinking and acting in our peoples' interests, we all have a sacred duty to preserve consensus and civil peace in the country.

The state's foreign policy activity is directly linked with the resolution of domestic problems. The age-old question which a few years ago was still hanging over every Soviet and Russian home—would there be a war or not?—has receded. The cause of peace is growing stronger. But we are far from euphoric. We assess everything soberly. We need the Army, and Russians advocate unconditional respect for it, for equipping it properly, and for enhancing the prestige of military service. At the same time, we need to continue to safeguard peace above all by political and nonmilitary means.

Esteemed countrymen and Soviet citizens! We call on you to strengthen and develop constructive social dialogue. To move from confrontation to sensible compromise, to seek mutually acceptable solutions. Recognition of the need for dialogue is one social insight that has been gained recently. It concerns the fair resolution of strike collisions, interethnic dramas, and problems of cooperation between various social movements, generations, and social groups.

Perestroyka will only happen if we all pool our efforts. Our country was built on the labor and then the blood of many generations, and it is everyone's patriotic duty to preserve and augment its national property. We appeal to plant and factory workers, to collective farm members and state farm workers, and to all those who create material and intellectual assets. Nobody will do our work for us—just remember that and act as required by the times.

We appeal to those who were in at the beginning of socialism, who took up arms to defend it, who restored the national economy, and who opened up the virgin lands, making new regions habitable. May your example serve the cause of the country's further revolutionary transformation.

Youth of Russia! There is no higher patriotic task today than raising up the republic and regenerating your native region.

We appeal to intellectuals: You can do a great deal to affirm high moral ideals and humanism and to rebuff vulgarity and cynicism. The CPSU Central Committee Russian Bureau and the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of Ministers will do everything to ensure that Russia's multiracial culture develops fully and will support the people's creativity.

Motherhood and childhood are a subject of special concern to us. We hope that mothers, the true keepers of the family hearth, will transfer their age-old concern and care for children and relatives to the situation in our common home, which needs peace, harmony, and justice more than ever. The republic's leadership places family problems at the center of its efforts. Their resolution and the alleviation of women's labor will help to safeguard society's social and moral health.

At this alarming time we make a fraternal appeal to the peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia. Learning with heartfelt pain the sad news about the tragic consequences of the interethnic conflict, we appeal on behalf of the peoples of Russia to your reason—for the sake of your children, mothers, sisters, and wives, stop the wave of violence! We believe that goodwill will triumph.

Communists of Russia! You bear a special responsibility. Through your social and labor activeness and your ardent participation in renewal processes strengthen the prestige and unity of the party—society's main consolidating force—and prove through your actions that the CPSU is a party of the people and for the people!

While appealing to voters' civic duty, we are also appealing to their sense of morality. May you always be motivated in everything by love for Russia, faith in it, by your age-old industriousness and charity, and by fraternal feelings toward all the Soviet fatherland's other peoples. May this be done by everyone who wants to contribute to the material, spiritual, and moral treasurehouse of a Russia that is renewing itself!
The CPSU Central Committee Russian Bureau
The RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium
The RSFSR Council of Ministers

RSFSR Academy of Sciences To Be Founded

LD2401194690 Moscow TASS In English 1749 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 24 TASS—The Presidium of the Russian Federation's Supreme Soviet at a meeting today instructed the Russian Council of Ministers to form a Russian Federation Academy of Sciences.

The meeting also discussed preparations for the election of people's deputies of the Russian Federation, autonomous republics and local Soviets of People's Deputies.

It was noted that the election campaign in the Russian Federation proceeds in a democratic atmosphere. At the same time, the discussion demonstrated that not all work collectives, government officials and economic managers participate directly in the preparations.

In its resolution the Presidium of the Russian Federation's Supreme Soviet set out the tasks of Soviets of People's Deputies at the concluding stages of the election campaign.

Russian Farm, Cooperative Association Meets

PM2501161790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by I. Abakumov: "Peasant Congress Starts Work"]

[Text] The constituent congress of the Association of Peasant Farms and Rural Cooperatives of Russia (AKKOR) began work 22 January in the "Orlenok" Hotel's movie and concert complex.

According to the congress organizing committee's preliminary data, 316 delegates will be attending from rayons, oblasts, and autonomous republics in the federation. The delegates will found the AKKOR, discuss the organization's structure and the principles of its activities, elect leading bodies, and discuss methods of financing, farm supplies, and legal protection and insurance for farmers. Then the congress will adopt a resolution on the draft laws on land, on ownership, and on peasant farms.

I would remind IZVESTIYA readers that the AKKOR congress has been convened in line with a decision by the peasant conference held in Moscow 28-30 July 1989. The organizing committee has carried out its assignment. Within 6 months peasant associations had been set up in 33 Russian territories. Similar associations have begun to be set up in another six union republics. A dummy issue of the journal FERMER was produced for the congress. The foundations have been laid for a peasant cooperative bank, and money is being paid into its inaugural fund by enterprises, organizations, and individuals.

'Democratic Platform' Official Outlines Program

LD2701170690 Moscow TASS in English 1453 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 27 TASS—Rector of the Moscow Higher Party School, V. Shostakovskiy, met students of the school, representatives of Moscow's party organisations and journalists here today to discuss the results of last week's national conference of party clubs and organisations.

Shostakovskiy, who is a member of the "Democratic Platform's" Coordination Council, said the platform neither contains ultimatums nor aims to split the party. The conference itself does not represent an attempt to satisfy someone's political ambitions. Neither is it an act of the struggle for power.

"I can't vouch for everyone," he said, "but the majority of participants in the conference are sincerely concerned over the fate of the Soviet Communist Party (CPSU)."

The conference pursued only one goal - speeding up democratic changes in the party itself.

The time of frank discussions and well-considered decisions has come, Shostakovskiy continued. If the party's intellectual and human capital is not realised, the conservative forces that are hindering perestroika will strengthen their positions, which will mean its failure. Therefore the conference spoke out in favour of resolute actions. It is necessary to start with radical changes in the election procedure to the party 28th congress and with changes in party rules. The forthcoming plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee will have to address these issues. The entire party is looking forward to it, he noted.

Answering questions on the possibility of a multiparty system in Soviet society, the rector replied that the so-called informal groups and organisations already exist. They are increasingly coming to the forefront of political life. Many of them were born in the depth of society, carry a positive charge and express the interests of people. Political pluralism is a reality, he said.

The rector said that the conference considered only the problems of party renewal. It has not yet worked out a package of ideas concerning the analysis of the socio-political situation in the country and ways to renew society and deal with the crisis.

Leningrad KGB Chief Answers Viewers' Questions

LD2701214690 Moscow TASS in English 2051 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] Leningrad January 27 TASS—The USSR State Security Committee (KGB) ever more actively joins in efforts to combat organised crime, Anatoliy Kurkov, head of the KGB Department for Leningrad Region, stated in a televised appearance on Saturday, when answering viewers' questions in a live telecast.

Over the past two-three years the KGB Leningrad Department detained about 100 smugglers and confiscated valuables to the tune of 2.5 million roubles, Kurkov said.

The smuggling of strategic materials was foiled recently. The case is under investigation, he added.

Kurkov touched upon issues concerning inter-ethnic relations. Rumours were rife in Leningrad recently that pogroms of Jews were expected.

"I can state quite responsibly that there are absolutely no realistic grounds for pogroms or any kind of outrages. Moreover, the KGB Leningrad Department knows people who preach anti-semitic views. In case of any moves on their part, we shall take most drastic measures," Kurkov said.

In such delicate issues as inter-ethnic relations one must show restraint and tolerance, and not aggravate the situation particularly after the tragedy in Transcaucasia, Kurkov said. He urged various radio stations abroad, including the Voice of Israel, [as received] to do the same.

The political situation in Leningrad is not simple. It is complex and is to a certain extent destabilised. But there are no grounds to dramatise it, Kurkov said.

Moreover, a tendency to replace bombast and rhetoric by socially useful deeds is beginning to manifest itself ever more vividly of late, he added.

Kurkov was born in 1930. He graduated from a pedagogical foreign languages institute, specialising in English and German. Throughout his 37-year-long career he rose from lieutenant to lieutenant-general. He had long and short-term tours of duty abroad. He has been heading the KGB Leningrad Department since summer 1989.

Shevardnadze Writes Article on Diplomacy

LD2601161490 Moscow TASS in English 1535 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 26 TASS—"The purpose of the alliance of science and diplomacy is to unite intellectual forces at the peak of perestroyka processes," Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze writes in KOMMUNIST magazine. Shevardnadze's article, entitled "Diplomacy and Science: An Alliance for the Sake of the Future", stresses the need to concentrate the country's scientific potential more actively and broadly on the solution of foreign policy problems.

"Diplomacy," he writes, "is poorly versed in modern scientific language, lacks adequate knowledge of contemporary technological realities. The problem of increasing the scientific corroboration of foreign policy cannot be resolved by diplomats alone. Forms are now being sought to promote the scientific orientation of foreign services. There has been a department for international scientific and technological cooperation within the Soviet Foreign Ministry since 1988."

"Another important and traditional aspect of cooperation between diplomacy and science is the elaboration of approaches and determination of attitudes to practical international problems," the Soviet minister writes. The USSR Academy of Sciences and academic institutes, as well as departmental scientific centres, are equitable participants in the elaboration of foreign policy decisions."

"The range of cooperation with academic science is extremely broad," the minister notes. "Utmost attention is focused on such key topics as new political thinking, the organic integration of the Soviet economy with the world economic process, the elimination of "blank spots" from the history of Soviet relations with several states, and scientific foundations of conversion.

"Studies of international law, particularly those related to such an insufficiently investigated topic as law of the peoples, should be stepped up," Shevardnadze writes. Touching on the cultural component of foreign policy or so-called cultural diplomacy, the Soviet minister stresses the need to cooperate with institutes of archeology, ethnography, culture and the arts, with various arts schools.

Shevardadze calls attention to the fact that the future should not be overlooked now that everybody is concerned about current developments. "We all must work calmer than ever now for the sake of the future," the Soviet minister stresses.

Vorotnikov Meetings in Voronezh Oblast

PM1201141190 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 12 Jan 90 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "An Economic Base for Soviets' Sovereignty"]

[Text] The revolutionary slogan "All Power to the Soviets!" is topical once more. It was put on the agenda by the new election campaign. The perestroyka now under way in the country is altering the essence and role of soviets of people's deputies and their position in society's life. The problems of further renewing and strengthening local organs of power were one of the main topics of discussion at voters' meetings with V.I. Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium. While in Voronezh Oblast 8-11 January, he visited industrial enterprises and collective and state farms and was briefed on the work of party and soviet organs, higher education establishments, the trade network, and public catering.

Speaking to labor collectives, to party, soviet, and economic officials, and to scientists, V.I. Vorotnikov told them about the most important events occurring or due to occur in the life of the country and the republic. It is well known that the CPSU Central Committee December (1989) Plenum elected a Central Committee Russian Bureau, whose purpose is to work directly with RSFSR kray, oblast, and autonomous republic party organizations. Conditions have been created for more efficiently solving the pressing tasks of political and socioeconomic development, introduction of economic reform, and democratization of all state life. It is planned to further improve the structure of material and technical supplies and to open a Russian Academy of Sciences.

Russia, the chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium emphasized, is facing the task of actively implementing the lofty principles of the CPSU platform on the nationalities question. Much work will have to be done in order to ensure conditions for an all-around upsurge of every Russian nation [kazhdoy rossiyskoy natsii], their spiritual and moral revival, the fullest exercise of their rights and potential, and the development of regional economy and original culture. In this process it is necessary to bear in mind the changing nature of economic relations between union republics, which are based on the principles of equality and mutual advantage. The Russians are making an especially important contribution toward strengthening the friendship between all Soviet peoples, without which the union state's stable and healthy development would be unimaginable.

The forthcoming election will be an important stage in the major work to improve the political system and develop Russian statehood, V.I. Vorotnikov noted during the conversations. They will be followed by the First Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies, which will provide legislative solutions to many acute problems facing the republic and will elect a bicameral Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation. The local organs of power to be constituted after the elections will also have a largely new image.

Preconditions for appreciably activating soviets at all levels were created by the work of the two Congresses and the two USSR Supreme Soviet sessions. But the newly elected soviets' ability to take on full power and solve the tasks set by perestroyka in their regions will depend largely on the voters' civic activeness and political maturity. The preliminary results of the election campaign's first stage are ambiguous. There are 91 candidates nominated for the 18 deputies' seats in the RSFSR Supreme Soviet from Voronezh Oblast. There are 401 persons contesting the 250 seats on the oblast soviet. Competition is considerably less for city, rayon, settlement, and rural soviets. For example, there are only 11 candidates for every 10 seats on rural soviets.

Participants in the conversations with the chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium noted that the practical implementation of soviets' sovereignty at local level is still a remote prospect. This is hindered primarily by the many years when local organs of power had no rights at all. The effectiveness of their activity will depend on the speed with which they acquire their legal and economic base.

Problems of the development of science and higher education, the cooperative movement, the ecological protection of cities, housing construction, the reform of purchase prices for agricultural output, and ways to overcome the difficulties in supplying the population with foodstuffs and industrial goods were also discussed at the meetings.

Vorotnikov, Tambov Voters 'Support' Perestroyka

PM1601111590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
14 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Meetings on Tambov Soil"]

[Text] Tambov, 13 Jan—The meetings held by V.I. Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium, and USSR people's deputy, with the Tambov Oblast electorate involved businesslike and keen discussion of the urgent problems of perestroyka. On 11-13 January he visited industrial enterprises and scientific institutions in the oblast center and the rural backwaters of the Russian Chernozem Zone, where he equired about the cultural, consumer, and medical services and the working and recreational conditions of the peasants, workers, and people's intelligentsia.

During meetings and relaxed conversations with people in the streets, squares, factory shops, and livestock units the guest spoke to his electorate about the results of the work of the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies, the country's leadership's efforts to fulfill its decisions, and the features of the elections of people's deputies to local and republic soviets.

Expressing their frank opinions on a wide range of problems, the Tambov inhabitants informed their deputy of the support among Tambov city and rural area working people for the perestroyka begun on the CPSU's initiative and expressed their wish to deepen economic reform and democratize all spheres of social life through action rather than words. War and labor veterans expressed particular gratitude to the USSR Supreme Soviet and the country's government for their concern in raising their living standards.

At the same time, a number of critical observations concerning overcoming mismanagement in various spheres of manufacturing were made with reference to the local and central leadership.

The Tambov inhabitants are particularly alarmed by the shortage of housing with modern conveniences, which is hampering the development of the city, with its population of 300,000, which in this respect is already behind its neighbors in the region. That is why, in their basic mandates to their deputy, the electorate had asked V.I.

Vorotnikov to assist in speeding up the creation of a base for the construction industry. This assistance had been given. In a short time, buildings were put up in the northwest part of Tambov as part of a housing construction combine, which was able to double the annual volume of Tambov's housing construction and moreover, to provide the oblast with 60,000 square meters of social and cultural facilities annually, including schools, hospitals, consumer service facilities, canteens, and stores. But the construction workers told V.I. Vorotnikov with resentment that combine shops in whose construction all the labor collectives had been involved were standing empty because of a failure by enterprises in Karaganda, Ivanovo Oblast, and Krasnoyarsk Kray to deliver equipment as agreed by contract. The slowness of their partners has threatened the oblast housing program and deprived thousands of Tambov families of the joy of having a new home.

This situation, whereby only 4 percent of the population of Tambov Oblast's rural rayons have the possibility of using natural gas even though five large gas mains cross their territory, is unfair, in the opinion of Tambov's inhabitants.

Giving a harsh critical evaluation of this case of industrial egoism and of similar cases, the chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium stressed the importance of nationwide struggle for the strengthening of discipline in every workplace and of progress from rallies to concrete action, without which movement forward along the road of perestroyka is inconceivable. Only the competent organs of local authority, that is, soviets at all levels, are able to establish productive cooperation with departments in the interests of the Russian countryside, which has been deprived of attention. Therefore, in talks with collectives at the Tambov branch of the "Mikrokhirurgiya Glaza" [optical microsurgery] interbranch scientific-technical complex, the "Pigment" production association, the dried skimmed milk plant, and the "Pamyat Kirova" collective farm, V.I. Vorotnikov called on the electorate to increase their activeness in the election campaign now gathering pace in the Tambov area. By the people's will, deputies who are capable not only of pronouncing fine words but also of organizing things quickly and standing up uncompromisingly for the population's interests will come to power.

V.I. Vorotnikov was familiarized with the working experience of the oblast's first agro-industrial combine, "Kirsanovskiy," which brings together 37 farms and enterprises into a single cycle for procurement, treatment, and sale of output. Having made a profit of many millions of rubles in a year, the agricultural combine was able in a short time to restore the fame of the ancient Russian town of Kirsanov, which was famous back in the 18th century for rich trade traditions. V.I. Vorotnikov approved the foreign trade cooperation experience of the combine, which had obtained currency from the sales of its above-plan output to acquire state-of-the-art processing hardware abroad.

Answering questions put by the voters who participated in the oblast party-economic aktiv meeting, V.I. Vorotnikov stressed that the age-old diligence of our people, increasingly efficient communications, and high responsibility in every member of society for the future of perestroyka will make it possible to resolve the acute problems of our lives.

'Top Priority' on Progress of Perestroyka

LD2801165190 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 26 Jan 90

["Top Priority" program, presented by Sergey Goryachev, with political analysts Sergey Plekhanov and Andrey Kochunov]

[Text] [Goryachev] How do yo do, ladies and gentlemen, welcome to Top Priority. I'm Sergey Goryachev. The ethnic upheaval in the Soviet Union continues and the situation in the consumer market is becoming more and more desperate. Some of the foreign observers believe that Mikhail Gorbachev's days as the Soviet leader may be counted. In the meantime the chief Foreign Ministry spokesman, Gennadiy Gerasimov, said two weeks before he crucial Central Committee meeting that, and I quote: There are no alternative leaders. There are no alternative policies.

I thought this is the right time for us to discuss what we have an what we have not achieved during the 5 years since perestroyka was announced in the Soviet Union. Guests here are Sergey Plekhanov to my left, Andrey Kochunov to my right, our political obsevers. Let me start with you, Sergey: What do you think blocks perestroyka in the first place?

[Plekhanov] Well, there are several levels of obstacles. Of course, everybody is talking about the state of the economy and it's clear that if the economic situation had improved in the past year or two all other problems would have been more manageable and the ethnic conflicts would not have been as acute. Secondly, there is the Gordian knot of ethnic conflicts and the problems having to do with the sovereignty of republics. We are living in an overcentralized federation, and it's not really a federation; it's a unitary state, and that is intolerable for virtually everyone in the Soviet Union, so nations are trying to break out of this straitjacket and to rebuild the federation on a democratic basis. So that is another area and that's another set of problems which is blocking perestroyka.

But I think that at the level of today's problems and the current situation in terms of immediate tasks, immediate things that must be done; I think that the chief obstacles lie in the political system, in the way political decisions are made, in the way political forces interact, and that has to do with the state of the party, which must be reformed. It still has a very, very strong role to play in this society, in this political system, and rejuvenation of the party, liberating the party from the vestiges of the past, from the iron hand of dogmatism and careerism and the administrative bureaucratic system which the party has managed for decades. I think that is crucial because if the decisionmaking mechanism is reformed, if the political system become adequate, becomes on a par with the level of problems that we have in this country, I think all other things will follow.

[Goryachev] I really wanted to ask you if you thought 5 years ago that things would be that hard as they are now?

[Plekhanov] Well, certainly I thought that they...

[Goryachev] As a citizen, not as a political analyst.

[Plekhanov] Well, I think that they...

[Goryachev] You couldn't separate them.

[Kochunov] I think that all of us had a lot of false images and oversimplifications 5 years ago and certainly underestimated the magnitude of the problems, and I remember, you know, the year 1985. I personally was rather disappointed with the first actions taken by Gorbachev. I thought that he was moving too slow, that he was too cautious and that he could have acted much more radically. Now I think many of us, and even liberals, I think that probably Gorbachev was too radical, that he was too active and perhaps what he really needed was more caution. I remember that, you know, one of his firststeps was the notorious anti-alcoholic campaign, and...

[Plekhanov, interrupting] True, that was radical enough.

[Kochunov] Well, that was radical, but that was in line with the traditions of the administrative system, you know, just ban, you know curb something. On the other hand, I think it's a traditional illusion of the liberal part of Soviet intelligentsia that democracy per se can solve almost all the problems we are having here in the Soviet Union, and we do not, I think, appreciate, we do not evaluate to a proper extent the level of conservatism among the people itself at large. And that is why I think that I personally underestimated a lot of problems that were connected with perestroyka.

[Plekhanov] I'd like to take issue with this problem of democracy versus conservatism. Conservatism has a role to play in any democratic society, in any democratic process. As far as the level of popular conservatism is concerned, I think we should base our judgments on the results of things like elections and public opinion polls and so on. I think that the country, that the people, the rank-and-file citizens, are not the chief obstacle to further democratization. In fact if they don't like something, they don't like the slow pace of democratization and they're getting increasingly impatient and increasingly active and I am absolutely certain that the election which is coming in a few weeks, weeks, the election to the local governments across the nation, they are going to change the balance of forces in this country in favor of more reforms and more democratization.

[Goryachev] Speaking about radicals and conservatives, let me quote Boris Yeltsin, who is one of President Gorbachev's main opponents from the left. He said in an interview recently: Gorbachev has failed. He hasn't fulfilled his pledges to the people. If we do not implement radical changes a revolution is to be expected.

[Plekhanov] Well, I think in the first place that the revolution is going on, so it's strange of Yeltsin to say that if something is not done revolution will follow. He himself is a product of the revolutionary process which has been developing in the past 5 years. Perestroyka is a revolution; it's not a revolution, it's not a bloody revolution, it's a peaceful process, and thank God it's this way. I don't want it to turn into armed uprisings, or something similar to what's happening in Azerbaijan right now. But I know why Yeltsin is saying those things. He has political axes to grind. Everybody says that he want to be the president of Russia, not of the Soviet Union but of the...

[Kochunov, interrupting] He announced his intentions.

[Plekhanov] Yeah, right, so he wants to get elected into the Russian parliament of the Russian republic. He has a lot of positive things about him, but he is inclined to demagogy. I've noticed it before and I think it's evident in statements like this now.

[Goryachev] Yeltsin won enormous public support last year during the elections to the main legislative body of the Soviet Union. Andrey, do you think he can enjoy such a popularity, such a support now?

[Kochunov] Well, I think that even now people are voting against, not for, and from this point of view I think that Yeltsin does have very good chances to get elected. Now he is in a very convenient position. He can criticize without taking any responsibilities, and besides, you know, if you are speaking about a failure of Gorbachev, what is really failure? You know, Gorbachev had (?now) something like, you know, a very specific plan that he had to fulfil. He didn't promise that all the problems will be solved in 5 years.

[Goryachev] But he promised better life, and where is that better life? The shelves are empty in the stores. [words indistinct]

[Plekhanov] Well, the shelves. The shelves, are, are not all in life. Yes, the shelves are empty, but I think we now have a better chance of getting out of the grip of the administrative system and really building a free and prosperous country that we're entitled to. So, I think, in that respect, that is a crucial thing. In the dilemma between bread and freedom people should always opt for freedom, then they will have bread. They will earn them, they will bake the bread themselves. Give them freedom. And Gorbachev has helped up gain our freedom.

[Goryachev] I agree, but there are some obstacles to this freedom. I believe that some of the obstacles are within the Communist Party itself. What is the balance of forces within the party since the party is playing a crucial role in the Soviet Union now?

[Plekhanov] Well, I think it's easy to stereotype the party. The party has 20 million people. If you ask why those people joined the party—some of them joined it for career purposes, some joined because they believed in the things that party stands for. But, the one thing that cannot be denied, that there are the people who are members of the party, rank-and-file members, they are somewhat more active politically and somewhat more conscious politically than the rest of the society. It doesn't mean that all political activists are within the party; in fact in the past few years we've seen a rapidly growing body of political activists who dissociate themselves from the party, who are in other organizations, popular fronts, all kinds of clubs, organizations. That's good, that's a healthy process. So the party is lagging behind. If it's stuck with only the careerists and the people who want to go backwards, then the party will simple die out.

But, one has to recognize the party has strong roots in this society and that's why there is a strong potential within the party for really reforming that organization radically. The bureaucrats in the party, the apparatchiks, they constitute less than one percent of the total party membership. The rest of the party members are citizens like you and me and those citizens, they do want change, they do support Gorbachev and...

[Goryachev, interrupting] But they do not make decisions.

[Plekhanov] Well, look, this, this time they have a unique chance to make decisions because no party apparatchik will be able to keep the party rank-and-file in the months preceding the congress from expressing their will concerning the composition of the congress, concerning the decisions. The discussion is just starting within the party and there is nothing to stop those rank-and-file, those millions of rank-and-file party members, from really shaping the congress as they see fit and bringing party up to date.

[Kochunov] You know, my feeling is that the age of huge party machines and huge party bureaucracies is already over in all civilized world and I think that if we really have what Gorbachev calls a legal society, (?that) civil society, then there'll be no place for such totalitarian mechanism as we had here for many many decades in form of the party.

[Goryachev] And do you think the radical party members will be able to reform the party from inside or do you think that the party will divide finally into, or split, into two or more parties? Andrey?

[Kochunov] Well (?now) it depends on the exact correlation of forces. I think that some mechanisms, self-preservation mechanisms, that are there within the party, they have to work out this problem. But, if they fail, then I think the split is inevitable and probably there will be not a split in two parts, but many, many, many parts of the party. Because, till now unfortunately, I see pretty few changes in how the party apparatus works really. I think that probably some people, they are unable to change and still they want to preserve their positions.

[Goryachev] What's important is that not all of these, as we call them apparatchiks, are really bad guys.

[Plekhanov] Well, of course, of course.

[Goryachev] They just believe in what they believe.

[Plekhanov] Right, yeah.

[Goryachev] They are truly convinced in what they defend.

[Plekhanov] Some of them. Others are convinced that perestroyka is necessary and this platform organization, this democratic caucus, democratic caucus that's just been formed, there are lots of apparatchiks in there—the people who recognize that if you do not want to stay behind the train then you'd better run and catch it and then get into the driver's seat.

[Goryachev] Yes. Let's turn to the international scene for a while. Criticism at home is in sharp contrast from what we hear from abroad, from President Bush, for example, and Mrs Thatcher. On Thursday President Bush offered what is considered the strongest endorsement to date of how Gorbachev has dealt with the civil unrest in Azerbaijan. My question is what impacts do you think such clear signals from the West have, if any impacts, on the Soviet society?

[Kochunov] Well, I'm not sure that this statement of President Bush can influence directly people in Azerbaijan because they are now too emotional and not rational in their actions and their outlooks.

[Plekhanov] And I'm not sure many of them know who Bush is.

[Kochunov] Well, probably you are right. But I think that for the people here in Moscow it is important that the steps taken by Gorbachev are recognized by the Western countries and Western leaders because it was, I think, a painful decision for Gorbachev and it was a trauma for many liberals here, especially after Tbilisi. You know we keep saying that the role of military forces in the civil life of society is reduced, and at the same time we have to use these forces. So, I think that this endorsement was important.

[Goryachev] In other words, you want to say that people are pleased to hear that Mr Bush supports Mr Gorbachev? Right?

[Kochunov] And that this action does not necessarily contradict the general process of democratization within the country as it is seen from the West.

[Goryachev] Sergey, you do not agree?

[Plekhanov] Well, I really don't think that it matters much what Mrs Thatcher and Mr Bush are saying. I mean it's not, it doesn't hurt, but it doesn't help much either.

[Goryachev] But does it help internationally?

[Plekhanov] Internationally yes, yes. Internationally, yes, in that it kind of reduces the level of media hype about the weakening position of Gorbachev. I mean, there is, journalists are always looking for some face under the headlines, the big changes; even when there are no big changes, they try to make up some of them. So, I think it's useful in playing down that kind of speculation, that Gorbachev's position is weakening.

[Goryachev] Well, now it's time to wind up. The participants were Sergey Plekhanov and (Andrey Kochunov). I'm Sergey Goryachev; thank you for listening.

Writers Pledge Support for 'Perestroyka's Leader'

PM2601141190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 6

[V. Malukhin report: "Appeal to Intelligentsia"]

[Text] A sitting of the USSR Writers Union Features and Current Affairs Council was held at the Central House of Literary Workers. The meeting's subject was "The Current Political Moment and the Creative Intelligentsia's Role." Representatives of other creative unions, as well as economists, sociologists, historians, and political scientists, were among the literary workers' guests. The discussion focused on the broad range of problems facing the country, including the progress of economic and political reforms, interethnic relations, and perestroyka within the party. The participants in the forum of the creative intelligentsia formulated their concern about the prevailing state of affairs and their support for the policy of deepening the perestroyka process in a resolution addressed to the CPSU Central Committee plenum.

It says in particular: "It is clear that a general overhaul of the entire structure of life cannot be accomplished within a short time, not even within 5 years, and those who expect tangible benefits from perestroyka right away are deluding themselves. A realization of this fact means a vote of confidence in perestroyka's leader Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and his associates.... Much of what we had hoped for has failed to materialize over the last 5 years. Not only objective, but also subjective causes are to blame. Even what has already been done, however, has radically changed the image of the country and all society. We are changing. During the 5 years since, April society has revived and will never again return to the barracks. Today we are no longer threatened by world war, and this is perestroyka's main achievement.... The dismantling of the Stalinist-Brezhnevite structure which has begun in our country inspired those who share our ideas abroad, and this led to revolutionary transformations in East Europe. Support from abroad is another of perestroyka's gains. In short, we have things to defend and we will defend them. This is why, perceiving the real and steadily growing threat to the course of perestroyka, we appeal to the country's creative intelligentsia—writers, journalists, cultural figures, scientists and specialists, and clergy—to rally for the sake of progress and democracy. The leaders of perestroyka must know that they will always find reliable support within our ranks...."

Ryabev Extends Visit to Kuznetsk Basin

LD2401095290 Moscow TASS in English 0820 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Text] Kemerovo January 24 TASS—By TASS correspondent Grigoriy Shalakin:

A government commission led by Lev Ryabev, deputy chairman of the Soviet Council of Ministers that arrived in the Kuznetsk coal basin (Kuzbass) on January 15 will stay there for no less that two weeks instead of one, as was earlier planned. The commission will check the fulfilment of the protocol signed last July by the government commission and the Kuzbass regional strike committee. The Soviet Council of Ministers put Lev Ryabev in charge of monitoring the fulfilment of agreements concluded with miners from all coal basins of the country last summer.

The two sides are analysing what items of the programme have been fulfilled, what should be done now and what remains to be done in the future. They agreed that the majority of the items—some 60 per cent—have been fulfilled or are being fulfilled now. They started drawing up a final document in order to sign it in the city of Kemerovo, administrative centre of Kuzbass, late in January. At the same time, commissions from the two sides are working on the most important items included in the 43-item protocol—the regional self-financing of Kuzbass and the substantiation and specification of the price of coal, which is of much importance for the transfer of Kuzbass coal mines and collieries to full economic and legal independence.

It became known recently that the Soviet Council of Ministers adopted a programme for the socio-economic development of Kuzbass in 1991-1995. "The fulfilment of resolutions adopted by the Soviet Government requires investments running into billions of roubles. They included, perhaps for the first time, new approaches to the major industrial region of the country—approaches based on social considerations. As a result of their realisation Kuzbass will attain the average standard of living in the Russian Federation or the country in general—or even surpass it in some respect.

"The implementation of the programme should be based on the region's own resources for the construction of apartment houses, cultural facilities and medical and educational institutions. Allocations to the agro-industrial complex will grow by 50 per cent. Public health expenditures will go up by 35 per cent as against 1989," Lev Ryabev told TASS.

Deputy Favors Multiparty Options

LD2401113390 Moscow World Service in English 1100 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Text] A leading member of the Interregional group of MPs, Dr Gavriil Popov, says that it is impossible to get out of the economic blind alley in conditions of centralized government and management. He believes that the country should be divided into economically and politically independent territories, republics, regions, or cities. The residents of the territories will decide which economic and political system to choose: some regions might have a one-party system, others a multiparty system; some might legalize private property, others might not. But this should be decided only by the population of a given territory, Popov emphasized.

Readers React to PRAVDA 'Discussion Page'

PM2601132190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Jan 90 Second Edition p 4

[N. Kozhanov and V. Loginov roundup of readers' letters under the general heading "Discussion Page No. 4": "Clarifying the Position. Review of First Responses from Readers to the 'Discussion Page' Articles"]

[Text] The newspaper had been waiting impatiently for these responses. And not without nervousness. Moreover, immediately after the first "page" appeared, PRAVDA's local correspondents were instructed to immediately meet with communists, hold "roundtables," and conduct straw polls of party committees and enterprises in order to rapidly reveal the thrust and scale of readers' opinions at first hand, so to speak.

Why shouldn't we? For the first time since the distant twenties the newspaper's readers have been granted a free political rostrum from which communists and nonparty people alike can openly state their views to an audience millions strong on the party as it prepares for the 28th Congress and on its role and functions in a renewed society and can propose their options for solving the problems facing the CPSU, its leading organs, and its primary organizations. Under these conditions it is highly important for the correct tone to be set in the discussion from the outset in order to enable the "feedback" to work properly and prevent the discussion from turning—as often happened in the past—into a raucous, aimless, and fruitless campaign.

So let's take a look at how readers have assessed the first "pages." A large selection of responses was printed in "Discussion Page" No. 3. But now we have hundreds.... As far as the general assessment goes, the actual idea of publishing the "Discussion Pages" is supported by practically everybody. Cautious doubts prompted by the fact that discussions in our country have allegedly "gone too far" already are expressed in just a few responses.

But, for instance, USSR People's Deputy K. Usenbayev (Kirghizia), chairman of the republic's Veterans Council, cites this "upsurge of pluralism" as an argument in favor of the "Discussion Page." "Glasnost," he notes, "has opened the door for the expression of any opinions and the draft is making the walls shake. The party and we veterans have come in for particular criticism. This is annoying, of course. But we realize that we have no other way apart from democratization. That is why we need a 'Discussion Page' designed to be a kind of generator of ideas."

The participants in the Tyumen "roundtable," giving their approval to the first publications, proposed a long list of subjects for discussion. They also gave this advice to the page's compilers and editors: During polemic articles both "pro" and "con" should be featured under the same rubric and an editorial commentary must invariably be provided because, they explained, "people are used to believing PRAVDA and any controversial or erroneous allegations in it could be mistaken for the truth."

Incidentally, we will return to the issue of the criteria of "controversial" and "indisputable" in a discussion. For now we will give some of our readers the floor.

Yu. Borovitskiy, worker at the S.M. Kirov Machine Building Plant and secretary of a shop party organization (Alma-Ata): "The frank nature and depth of the discussion of urgent issues on the 'Discussion Page' will, I am sure, make it possible to find ways to fundamentally resolve those issues more quickly and to define the CPSU's place in our society more clearly."

B. Konovalov, vocational and technical college student (Leningrad): "The flow of contradictory information presses continually on our consciousness. Of course, people are free to choose whatever appeals to them, but one is always tormented by the question: Where is the guarantee that the information is accurate, or that the truth is being told frankly? Glasnost in small doses only disorients people, especially when it is distorted. So it is good that, whatever the divergence of opinions, the 'Discussion Page' should be a kind of guarantee of accurate information. Otherwise we'd be dragged into a maelstrom of lies."

A. Lazarev, first secretary of Tarusskiy CPSU Rayon Committee (Kaluga Oblast): "The 'pages' are useful because they allow communists to compare their own opinions on perestroyka issues with the opinions of their distant and close party comrades. To be specific, in the first issue I was concerned about the thesis in S. Dzarasov's article that there is no need to fear factions in the party. But any faction is essentially a basis for a split."

Lazarev's fellow-countryman—A. Dyuzhinov, chairman of the Iznoskovskiy Rayon Soviet Executive Committee—believes in general that the first "Discussion Page" articles reflected in an impermissible fashion the "muddied waters of petty criticism of the party and its apparatus" as well as "self-reproach on the part of Communists." Ye. Frolov, inspector of Saratov CPSU Oblast Committee, complained that the first edition of the page expressed views that were "too extreme."

There was a heated exchange of views on the articles carried on the "Discussion Page" during the meeting between our correspondent and a group of Communists at Stavropol CPSU Kray Committee. The general opinion was that a successful start had been made. But the attitudes to specific items differed widely—from the positive to the sharply negative. In particular, the judgment was expressed that informals happily cite certain "Discussion Page" articles, and we should not play into their hands.

How justified are these "reproaches?" Judging by the responses, most readers take a different view on this score. Here, for instance, is the position of V. Semenov, a CPSU member from Moscow:

"The main thing is that the editorial office should not try to 'knock the rough edges' off the items sent in or make them 'convenient' or in line with the official 'guideline' view. If this happens, the idea will fail and the 'Discussion Page' will be pointless. But... let us hope that even the most 'seditious' ideas, if interesting and if supported by some section of the population—especially communists—will be worth publishing and arguing about."

"We should not be afraid to print the most diametrically opposed and scathing judgments," B. Chukhrayev, Karelian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic deputy minister of internal affairs, supports this approach. "Common sense will still prevail."

We have long had the ingrained habit of thinking and working to orders from above. Many people still have this habit. Yet unless we are able to throw it off, there is no point in learning to act independently or to actually implement the assurances to "work in the new fashion" and to "move perestroyka forward." For decades the party, as a component of the cumbersome bureaucratic administrative system for running society, undermined and trampled on all and sundry, issuing unending orders and instructions at different levels from top to bottom. Those who acted as "commanders" at various levels got used to waiting for special instructions and firm resolutions at every turn. There was no point in conducting a dialogue with people, investigating their ideas and judgments in depth, seriously arguing with people "about politics," or trying to change anybody's mind. It is no secret that even today, under entirely new conditions, many people expect and even demand exhaustive directives and readymade scenarios from the center on any issue.

Is this not why, when the newspaper discussion had scarcely begun (and—to give away an editorial "secret"—it began, in the opinion of many PRAVDA workers and, incidentally, a number of respondents, with a highly timid poll of readers' views and positions) that albeit isolated calls started to be heard warning us "not to go too far" and we were advised without fail to accompany "incorrect" views with "correct" commentaries? Is this not why certain people, hearing that some of our articles were being "happily cited by informals," lost their heads and panicked instead of continuing the discussion with them face to face...? Incidentally, this too, we believe, is a subject for the "Discussion Page."

Here we would like to repeat what we said in the short introduction to "Discussion Page" No. 1: PRAVDA has initiated an extensive and open discussion on perestroyka in the party on the eve of the 28th CPSU Congress in order to enable everyone to freely and plainly express their opinion, even if it does not coincide with the editorial offices' views. Naturally, this does not mean that the party newspaper will become a forum for loud and arrogant "orators" who attempt to besmirch the party or oppress social awareness with all kinds of fabrications and fantasies. PRAVDA's position is a party position.

Workers Criticize Government in Talk With Abalkin

LD2701101390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] Soviet Deputy Prime Minister Leonid Abalkin is conducting a series of meetings with workers at Moscow's plants and factories. On Friday he visited the Krasnyy Proletariy machinetool plant and two garment factories. He discussed with workers the ways to overcome the difficulties that had emerged in the implementation of the economic reform. The workers criticized his government for inconsistency. Their plants and factories, they said, never received the promised economic independence. They have to transfer to the state too much of their profits.

Transition to free market principles, Leonid Abalkin stressed, must be carried out gradually and be accompanied by social guarantees for those in the low income brackets.

Official Denies 'Political' Prisoners Held

LD2701202290 Moscow TASS in English 1748 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 27 TASS—By TASS correspondent Igor Agabekov:

A campaign has again been stepped up in the West of late that compulsory treatment of the so-called "prisoners of conscience" is continued in the Soviet Union in special medical establishments.

The Serbskiy All-Union Research General and Forensic Psychiatry Research Institute was mentioned in this connection. The TASS correspondent visited the institute on Saturday.

"Contrary to what some believe, people are not treated at the Serbskiy Institute and no psychotropic drugs are administered to them," Academician Georgiy Morozov, director of the institute, told TASS.

"They are kept here to undergo an examination by an authoritative commission that decides that a person is either sane and may be subjected to punishment for the crime committed or is mentally ill and should be exempted from criminal responsibility and sent for medical treatment," he said.

On Kropotkinskiy Lane, there are several buildings surrounded with a high wall. This is the Serbskiy Institute which will be 50 years old next year. More than 1,000 physicians, medical nurses and researchers work at the institute. A large amount of research in the field of psychiatry is carried out here.

The institute is guarded by Interior Ministry soldiers both outside and inside the building. The explanation of this is simple: Persons kept at the institute are either mentally deranged people who committed this or that crime in a state of irresponsibility or are criminal elements that try to pose as mentally sick to evade criminal responsibility.

"Not a single person is kept at the institute from political motives, and the term of their stay at the institute is strictly limited to 30 days," Morozov said.

The medical wards of the institute differ from ordinary hospital ones only by the fact that there are window bars. There are neither hidden television cameras nor special electric locks that tightly block the doors.

The TASS correspondent talked with Aleksey Vishniyak, 21, a person under examination. The court disagreed with the first conclusion of psychiatrists that he is sane and sent him to a repeated examination.

Vishniyak was born into a decent family - his father was an actor at a Moscow theatre and his mother worked in a magazine.

Recently Vishniyak atrociously killed his parents. He maintains that at the moment of cloudiness "his hand was directed by the Satan" that has been harassing him ever since he was five.

As a believer, he does not consider himself guilty, since he is confident that every person has his or her destiny and, consequently, the fate that befell his parents was pre-destined. He relates what he did in a calm voice as if it were quite a usual thing.

Vladimir Belov, born in 1961, prior to his arrest worked as a tunneler at Cherkinskaya mine in the town of Belovo of Kemerovo region.

On his conscience is the killing of two people—a woman and her son. He referred to them as his acquaintances. He strangled the woman to death and hit her son with a screw driver in his neck twice and then hacked him up with an axe.

Belov does not repent his deeds and considers himself quite a sane person who was sent for to [as received] examination without any reason. He does not want to be sentenced to imprisonment and demands capital punishment for himself—execution by firing squad.

Chernigov Oblast Official Released From Post

LD2601194990 Kiev Domestic Service in Ukrainian 1845 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Text] A session of the Chernigov oblast soviet was held today, during which an organizational question was discussed. Grishko, chairman of the Oblast Executive Committee, was released from this post at his request.

Lukyanov, Others Form Honor Guard for Matveyev

PM2601150290 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Jan 90 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "On His Last Journey"]

[Text] On 25 January Moscow saw off on his last journey Yuriy Gennadiyevich Matveyev, prominent Soviet lawyer, USSR chief state arbitrator, and USSR people's deputy.

The hall of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Central Club, where the coffin containing the body of the deceased was installed, was decked in funeral attire. There were many wreaths here. One was from the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet, and USSR Council of Ministers.

In the honor guard were A.I. Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet; B.K. Pugo, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee; R.N. Nishanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities; P.I. Mostovoy, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; leaders of a number of ministries and departments, USSR people's deputies, and representatives of party, soviet, and social organizations.

The funeral was at the Novodevichye Cemetery.

Readers Discuss Draft Press Law

PM2501152390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Article under rubric "Reading the Mail" by Yuriy Orlik, editor of IZVESTIYA's Letters Department: "The Press and the Law"]

[Excerpts] "Esteemed comrade journalists! I congratulate you on this red-letter day—a fine draft law on the press," A. Goncharov from Petrozavodsk writes to us. I should like to reply: "And the same to you," because freedom of speech (and that is the focal point of the law) is not a professional right but a right of all citizens. A right without which a democratic society is inconceivable. "All other freedoms are illusory without freedom of the press," writes V. Kolesnikov from Nakhodka, reminding us of Marx' formula. "I believe (and I am probably not alone) that the adoption of the Law on the Press would have the same significance for our country's political life as the adoption of the law on property for its economic life," S. Medvedev, a leading economist at the "Sverdlovskmelioratsiya" association, writes, adding: "On condition, of course, that the spirit and sense of that law is preserved as expressed in the two tenets: "The press and the other mass media are free. Censorship of the mass media is not allowed." [passage omitted]

The generally favorable attitude toward the draft Law on the Press certainly does not mean acceptance of all its provisions. The keenest debates have arisen over Articles 6 and 42—on the right of individual citizens to set up a means of mass information and on the impermissibility of interference in their activity. Variations on those articles proposed by a group of USSR People's Deputies in which "the first is prohibited and the second encouraged" (B. Uvarov from Irpen, Kiev Oblast) are called into question by the majority of participants in the discussion.

"The right of private individuals to set up a means of mass information fully accords with the spirit and letter of the Declaration of Human Rights," (V. Safargaleyev, a scientific staffer from Apatity). "Citizens of the USSR must have the right to set up a means of mass information, otherwise human rights will disappear leaving only the rights of the collective" (V. Dyba, Temirtau). "They simply want to frighten us with this talk about the possible seizure of the press and television by the 'nouveaux riches' and 'clandestine' millionaires. The unwillingness to give individual citizens the right to set up a means of mass information is dictated by a desire not to share power—the power over people's minds," (E. Miller, Ust-Kamenogorsk). "The citizens of our country absolutely must have the right to set up means of mass information," is the opinion of V. Pekhterev from Donetsk. "While it exists we can sleep peacefully in the knowledge that the past will not steal back like a thief in the night. Someone will sound the alarm: If not a Sakharov then a Solzhenitsyn. In the darkest, deceitful decades of our life truth has always found one bell ringer, a citizen of the USSR, but how difficult it was to find 'citizens' associations,' 'groups of deputies,' and so forth."

Readers have equally firm objections to the version of Article 42 proposed by the people's deputies' group, which states that the impermissibility of interference in the mass media's activity should not apply to mutual relations between the owner, the publisher, and the editorship. "If the amendment to Article 42 is adopted, crude censorship of the press and diktat by party and soviet organs and the main founders and publishers of the means of mass information will be given a legal basis" (S. Kozmanko, a foreman from Beregovo city, Transcarpathian Oblast). "This article alone may nullify press freedom" (A. Titov, a lathe operator from Novopolotsk). "The new version of Article 42 emasculates the law and establishes a covert form of censorship" (V. Khokhryakov, a surgeon from Perm). "They began by toasting its health, they ended by laying it to rest. Article 1 proclaims freedom of speech, Article 42 abolishes it" (R. Lordkipanidze, Tbilisi).

However, there are other opinions. "An uncontrolled press in a civilized society is intolerable and harmful," A. Karmazinskiy from Gorkiy states. "If I were in the place of the government and the party, comrade newspapermen, I would set up a rigorous monitoring of you," says Muscovite Yanivskaya in his support. "If you aren't kept in check, there's no knowing what you'll get up to!" "Freedom and independence of the press are needed for just one thing—to enable the radicals to discredit the party and seize power," is the opinion of V. Sviderskiy from Lvov. "Society must be protected from the tyranny of the press, and for that a moral censorship is needed," V. Solomatin from Vsevolozhsk city in Leningrad Oblast demands. The idea that our society has not reached full glasnost, that freedom in large doses is harmful and that it is thus in the people's interests to restrict it is repeated with anxious insistence in other letters not related to the Law on the Press.

What can I say to all this? Should there be some restriction on press freedom? Yes, there should. By the demands of the constitution, which protect society from appeals to the violent overthrow of the existing system, from the propaganda of war, national hatred, and so on. And by that means alone.

There are several more articles in the law which have been perceived by readers in differing ways, as they tend to say nowadays. That applies in particular to Article 42 on compensation for moral injury. Indeed, everyone agrees that the editorial staff and journalists should bear responsibility for spreading information which impugns a citizen's honor and dignity. The objections are to the materialization of this responsibility, so to speak, in the form of monetary compensation, which under the draft law could be as high as R50,000 (this will be decided by the court). Here is what journalists themselves think about this. "For whom is the scale of the fine calculated? I worked out my wages and it turns out that it would take me 25 years to pay this back" (V. Karpova, Tiraspol). "Aren't the legislators tarring journalists with the same brush as cooperative members and racketeers?" (V. Chaga, Kushchevskiy Rayon, Krasnodar Kray). "The real point of this article is clear: It is to intimidate journalists. The result is also clear: Now the journalist will think very carefully before daring to criticize anyone" (Yu. Borin, Moscow). "Now anyone with a complaint to make will drag journalists through the courts. Muzzling criticism is costly, it's true; but it's reliable" (V. Izvolskiy, Leningrad).

Many readers cast doubts on the very principle of material compensation for moral injury. Others think that in the event of an unsuccessful legal action the plaintiff should pay not only the not very heavy court costs but should also pay for the moral injury done to the editorial staff and the journalist within the same limits—up to R50,000 (M. Morozov, Neryungri city, Yakutsk Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic).

One last point. The defense of freedom of speech and the independence of the mass media—which is precisely the aim of the Law on the Press—are absolutely necessary for society's spiritual health. "Have we already forgotten," N. Monakhov, a member of the Journalists' Union from Moscow, writes, "how the mass media, effectively the property of the party apparatus, obsequiously exaggerated the cult of various 'personalities,' embellished the facts, and lauded the era of stagnation? Freedom of the press is one of the real guarantees of the irreversibility of the process of the democratization of our society." "The newspaper must be the conscience of the people," is the belief of V. Ryabov (Moscow). "Not someone's dog who barks at people or licks their boots as appropriate." Not a very flattering thing to say about us journalists, but it cannot be denied....

On the whole then, I would ask the USSR Supreme Soviet to consider that the majority of IZVESTIYA readers support the adoption of a Law on the Press—one of the guarantees of the freedom acquired by our society.

Large-Scale Embezzlement Cases Uncovered

PM2401153590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Jan 90 Second Edition p 8

[Unattributed report: "At USSR Prosecutor's Office"]

[Text] The USSR Prosecutor's Office together with internal affairs organs have discovered cases of embezzlement of state property on a particularly large scale and bribery in a number of local industry, consumer service, and foreign trade organizations, as well as in cooperatives.

In particular, one of the leaders of an organized criminal group of embezzlers has been arrested. He worked at the "Vostokintorg" All-Union Foreign Trading Association. R378,600 were confiscated from him following a search in various places.

The investigation continues.

CPSU Central Committee Journal Issued

LD2301162490 Moscow TASS in English 1534 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 23 TASS—The latest information on the work of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee has been published in the first issue of the new year of the IZVESTIYA TSK JPSS journal (NEWS FROM THE SOVIET COMMUNIST PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE).

It opens with information on the work of the Central Committee in December 1989 and a report on changes in the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and the Secretariat of the Central Committee, as well as on the composition of the Russian Bureau of the Central Committee.

The journal also contains decisions by the Politburo on the results of the all-union student forum and higher responsibility of executives who are party members, for food supplies to the population.

The journal describes a meeting of the Central Committee commission on social and economic policy, which discussed issues of stepping up the economic reform, raising the efficiency of investments and improving the economic mechanism in the building industry.

The Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee Auditing Commission examined the work of the reference and reception service of the Central Comittee General Affairs Department.

The examination showed that over 65 per cent of citizens received at the service write or come to the Central Committee after fruitless attempts to tackle issues or to get necessary explanations in their localities. The magazine quotes these and other facts of the examination.

Information of the Party Control Committee at the CPSU Central Committee quotes violations of party and state discipline committed by some executives of Amur Region when fulfilling the food programme.

The Control Committee writes about checkups of letters by workers and about the examination of 37 appeals.

The journal prints documents issued by the Commission of the Politburo on Additional Examination of Materials Concerning Reprisals in the Period of the 1930s-1940s and the Early 1950s.

A section headlined "In the run-up to the 28th CPSU Congress," contains proposals concerning new CPSU rules sent to the Central Committee as well as with the discussion of the one-party system and a multi-party system held at the Social Sciences Academy functioning under the Central Committee.

Turkmen Supreme Soviet Elects Republic Leaders

PM2601160590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 3

[Report by own correspondent V. Kuleshov under the "Union Republic Supreme Soviet Sessions" rubric: "Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR)"]

[Text] Ashkhabad—The first session of the newly convened Turkmen ASSR Supreme Soviet is reminiscent somehow of the First Congress of USSR People's Deputies in miniature. Not just by the purely outward signs of animation and the committed attitude of the deputies to the agenda but also by the active determination, keen discussion, and disputes aroused during discussion of the credential commission's report and again by the long debates during discussion of the candidacy of S. Niyazov, first secretary of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee, for the post of chairman of the Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet.

During the discussion of S. Niyazov's candidacy many speakers advocated his combining the two important posts of state. But there were other opinions. A vigorous attempt to separate these two posts was made by Deputies S. Mollaniyazov and G. Igdyrov, in whose opinion such a combination would not be conducive to the sovereignty of the soviets.

A ballot resulted in the election of S. Niyazov as chairman of the Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet. S. Muradov, rector of a polytechnic institute, was elected first deputy chairman of the Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet; and L. Potapov, who worked as chairman of the Mary Oblast Soviet Executive Committee [oblispolkom], was elected deputy chairman.

The session set up 10 standing committees to conduct legislative work, to undertake the preliminary examination and preparation of questions relating to the running of the republic Supreme Soviet, and to oversee the activity of state bodies.

In exercise of his constitutional right Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet Chairman S. Niyazov submitted the candidacy of Kh. Akhmedov for appointment to the post of chairman of the council of ministers for examination by people's deputies. Kh. Akhmedov was elected to this office by a show of hands.

Views Language Issues

PM2601154390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Jan 90 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Session Ends"]

[Text] Ashkhabad, 25 Jan—The agenda of the first session of the Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet, which ended today, was as full as can be. Nearly 20 questions were examined by the deputies of the republic's supreme organ of state power. The important documents examined at the session included a draft language law and a draft state program for developing and expanding the sphere of use of the Turkmen language and improving the study of Russian and other languages.

After a debate it was decided to submit them for nationwide discussion.

The deputies discussed priority measures to provide the republic's population with high-quality drinking water and further improve gas and electricity supplies for population centers. They adopted a resolution on holding an annual festival commemorating the great Turkmen poet and thinker Makhtumkuli Fragi, and they also examined other questions.

Prosecutor Withdraws Charge in Uzbek Bribery Case

PM1201162190 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 12 Jan 90 Second Edition p 6

[G. Orlovskiy report: "Prosecutor Withdraws Charges"]

[Text] As already reported, the trial of the case of R. Abdullayeva, former secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee, started at the USSR Supreme Court 5 January. The charge against her involved one episode—the receipt of R5,000 as a bribe from M. Khudaybergenov, former first secretary of Khorezm party oblast committee. The charge was based on testimony given during the preliminary investigation.

On the very first day of the trial, R. Abdullayeva categorically denied the charges, saying that she had been awaiting the trial—"The last platform from which to openly describe how the case against her was fabricated." A considerable proportion of her testimony was devoted to the illegal methods to which Investigators Gdlyan, Ivanov, Dzhurayev, and others had resorted. Under the effect of such methods, she had been forced to even make confessions. Her repeated complaints were disregarded, she awaited her trial.

During the judicial investigation, M. Khudaybergenov declared that he had implicated R. Abdullayeva under threat. Documents from the preliminary investigation were read out at the sides' request, and new material submitted by the prosecutor and the defense attorney was examined. Few witnesses were heard, and their testimony added only little to the substance of the case. The judicial investigation was completed. The sides argued their cases yesterday.

S. Golev, senior assistant to the general prosecutor, who appeared for the prosecution, analyzed all the evidence presented by the investigation and discussed at the trial. Abdullayeva's case, singled out from the so-called "Uzbek Case" (the prosecutor actually criticized this term), was based on a "seven-line" charge—receipt of R5,000 from Khudaybergenov. This charge was not objectively proved at the trial—this was the prosecutor's opinion. The investigators failed to adopt a critical attitude toward the testimony of Khudaybergenov, who repeatedly changed it, or that of R. Abdullayeva, who, having denied guilt, "suddenly" confessed and then retracted her confession. The prosecutor sensibly asked: In what way was the episode involving Khudaybergenov different from the rest?

Why was the appraisal so "selective"? S. Golev said: "Having taken 16 steps toward termination, the investigation stopped short by 1 step." This was how R. Abdullayeva's trial came about. He emphasized that the "proof" cannot be accepted as such. To request a guilty verdict "would be a sin against the administration of justice." The prosecutor's stance is, of course, "not binding" on the court, it will reach its verdict according to the law. But the case prosecutor's point of view is unambiguous—not guilty.

It must be said that the prosecutor's well argued stance made a deep impression. I must admit that I have not often heard a prosecutor withdraw charges. Indeed, such a stance appears all the more courageous. At long last we have witnessed an extraordinary event: A case prosecutor actually formulating his point of view regarding the charge. The floor was then given to defense attorney Yu.

Ivanov. Despite the prosecutor's withdrawal of the charge, he consistently pursued the line that R. Abdullayeva should be found not guilty. Moreover, he devoted considerable time not only to the evidence (or rather the lack of it) but also to the political background of the "Uzbek Case." Citing much material and the defendant's testimony, the defense attorney asserted that the case against R. Abdullayeva was fabricated by the investigation group of Gdlyan, Ivanov, and others. From his point of view, the absence of proper prosecutor's oversight actually promoted the illegal investigation methods used by Gdlyan, Ivanov, and a series of other investigators.

Now it is still too early to appraise the stands taken by the prosecutor and the defense attorney. This will be done by the court, which has adjourned until 15 January. R. Abdullayeva will be given an opportunity to deliver a final address, after which the judicial collegium will give its verdict.

AIDS Found in Uzbekistan; Foreigners Deported

PM2601140390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 6

[Own correspondent A. Orlov report: "AIDS in Uzbekistan"]

[Text] Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic—The AIDS virus has been detected in Uzbekistan. IZVESTIYA's correspondent was told at the republic's Ministry of Health that 10 AIDS sufferers were diagnosed in the course of medical investigations. Eight of them are foreign citizens studying at local higher education establishments. They have been deported.

More than 20 diagnostic laboratories and anonymous screening centers operate in oblast centers and several cities in Uzbekistan. The republic, like the country as a whole, is in dire need of disposable syringes. Construction of a plant for their manufacture started a few days ago in Tashkent. Its first output should be available next year.

Kazakh Construction Materials Minister Appointed

LD2601173990 Alma-Ata SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN in Kazakh 11 jan 90 p1

[Text] The Presidium of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet has decided to appoint Comrade Aleksandr Kasimovich Minibayev to the post of minister of the construction materials industry of the Kazakh SSR.

[signed] M.Sagdiyev, chairman of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

K.Dzhusipov, secretary of the Kazakh SSR supreme soviet presidium. Alma-Ata, 10 January 1990.

Kirghiz Central Committee on Nationalities

LD1501232190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 15 Jan 90

[From "Vremya" newscast; V. Fedorov video report]

[Text] Question of the party's nationalities policy in contemporary conditions have been examined at a plenum of the Kirghiz CP Central Committee.

Interethnic relations were for many years represented in our country by the friendship of the peoples' festival: resplendent spectacles in national costume were often the substitute for painstaking and laborious work to resolve real problems of people's lives and harmonize ethnic interests. [video shows ethnic cultural festival, dancing, and horse-racing] We filmed this folk festival, in which guests from Tajikistan and Uzbekistan are taking part, in Batkenskiy Rayon, Osh Oblast, just at the time when a conflict between neighbors over land and water flared up: a conflict in which, alas, detachments of special purpose militia had to be employed. Things went far more slowly around the negotiating table than in the stadium. [video shows horse-race at breakneck speed] Success was reached in building bridges during the dialogue: God grant they withstand the spring floods.

It was stated in the report to the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee plenum delivered by Comrade Masaliyev, that the situation in the republic, where representatives of 80 nationalities live, is distinguished by its stability. [video shows meeting in progress] Party organizations are managing to fulfill a consolidating role and to direct the population's efforts toward constructive work and fulfillment of the plans for socioeconomic development. A conversation on unresolved problems of interethnic relations also took place, in particular about the one-sided development, chiefly based upon raw materials, of the republic's national economy, about the lagging behind the average Union standard in providing people with food, social and cultural amenities, about problems of employment of the population, and the development of the languages and unique ethnic culture of the peoples.

[Begin recording of A.A. Akayev, president of the Academy of Sciences of the Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic and USSR people's deputy] Here the deciding force which unites our peoples and which could play a crucial role in resolving this most important issue is the CPSU. I therefore consider that the CPSU should be united. Without integration, without a stable and firm federation, these most difficult economic, political, scientific and technical, social, and ecological issues facing our country cannot be solved.

New Publication Appears in Tajik

LD2601153190 Dushanbe TOJIKSTONI SOVETI in Tajik 1 Jan 90

[Excerpt] A new daily publication "PAYAM-I DUSHANBE" [MESSAGE OF DUSHANBE] joined the family of Tajik language newspapers. Inhabitants of the capital, towns, and villages of Tajikistan waited many years for such a publication. This wish of the people came true only with the blessing of restructuring and the endeavors of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tajikistan and its first secretary, Kakhar Makhkamov.

"PAYAM-I DUSHANBE," as the official publication of the party committee and soviet of People's Deputies of the Capital, will be able to carry out useful work for the great tasks of restructuring all aspects of our economic, social, and cultural life. [passage omitted]

Airport Deputies' Lounge Closure Decision Reversed

PM2501151190 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jan 90 p 4

[Unattributed answer to reader's question: "Was the Strike in the Lounge Expected?"]

[Text] "I heard that the deputies' lounge at Kishinev Airport has been closed. This is a good 'beginning'. But the only thing is, is it true?" A. Galinskiy, Namangan.

We telephoned Bogdanov, chief of the Moldavian Civil Aviation Administration Political Department, and it turned out that the deputies' lounge had indeed been closed. In August, the Moldavian Civil Aviation Administration Labor Collective Council adopted a decision by a majority of votes to close the deputies' lounge as a sign of protest against language inequality in the republic. In December, Supreme Soviet deputies spoke at a labor collective assembly, after which a decision was made to reopen the lounge.

Zhitomir Executive Committee Chairman Fired

LD2601135290 Kiev in Ukrainian to Europe 1945 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Text] A session of the Zhitomir Oblast Soviet was held today. It discussed the work of Yamchinskiy, chairman of the Oblast Executive Committee. He used his official post for private purposes. Thus he managed to obtain, out of turn, a flat for his son-in-law. Yamchinskiy's wife was paid unlawful bonuses in addition to her wages.

The session released Yamchinskiy from his post as chairman of the Oblast Executive Committee. He was also expelled from the oblast party committee bureau.

Track Reopened Following Penza Train Crash

PM2401170190 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 24 Jan 90 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Train Crash"]

[Text] Penza, 23 Jan—Work to eliminate the consequences of an accident at Kanayevka Station on the Penza section of the Kuybyshev Railroad lasted 15 hours. Yesterday at 1850 hours Moscow time two freight trains traveling in opposite directions collided. An empty gondola car of one of the trains left the rails. The electric locomotive of the other train ran into it.

As a result the electric locomotive and more than 20 cars were derailed; rails and switching installations near the station were seriously damaged. There are no casualties. This morning train traffic resumed on the stretch affected by the accident. A special commission is at work at the site of the accident.

Economic

Goskomstat Reports 1989 Economic Data

PM2801171590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Jan 89 Second Edition pp 1-3

[Report issued by State Committee for Statistics: "Accelerating Economy's Recovery. USSR's Socioeconomic Development in 1989"]

[Text] In 1989 measures aimed at the structural restructuring of the economy, its social reorientation, and financial recovery were implemented. The rate of increase in the output of items of consumption outstripped the rate of increase in the output of the means of production. The conversion of the defense industry began. Investment in the social sphere became a priority. The proportion of resources for current consumption and nonproduction construction exceeded 83 percent of the national income compared with 82.3 percent in the previous year. Centralized measures for enhancing the people's well-being which had been scheduled for the year were carried into effect. The size of minimum pensions was increased.

Over the past year a 3-percent increase in the gross national product was secured (excluding the influence of the actual change in prices), together with a 2.4 percent increase in produced national income, and a 2.3 percent increase in the productivity of social labor.

The use of new forms of economic activity is expanding. By the end of 1989 1,332 industrial enterprises, 731 construction organizations, 4,911 collective farms [kolkhoz] and state farms [sovkhoz], 988 retail trade enterprises, 1,043 public catering enterprises, 138 consumer services enterprises and a number of other enterprises were working on the basis of lease contracts.

At the same time the economic situation in the country remains complex. Tension in the consumer market has increased. The dynamism of the economy's development has waned. For many of the most important indicators, the annual plan for the country's economic and social development was not fulfilled as can be seen from the following data (in actual prices; billions of rubles): [In following table column A indicates 1989, according to plan or calculations based on plan; column B indicates 1989, actual; column C indicates 1989 as percentage of 1988 (in comparable prices).]

	A	B	C
Industrial output	913.8	910.4	101.7
Production of consumer goods (excluding alcoholic beverages)			
in retail prices	383	375	105.9
of which:			
food	151	145	103.2
nonfood	232	230	107.7
Agriculural output (in comparable prices)	236.9	224	101
Commissioning:			
of fixed capital (estimated value)	199.7(1)	191.1	98
of housing, million square meters total floor area	134.2	128.1	97
Capital investments (estimated value)	216.2	219.4	100.6
Shipments (dispatch) of freight by general-purpose transport, billion tonnes	12.9	12.9	98
Passenger transport general-purpose, billion passenger-kilometers	1,139	1,128	101
Profit in the national economy	259.8	270.6	104(2)
Number of workers and employees, millions	117.7	115.9	99
Wages fund for national economy	333	351	109
Average monthly money wage of workers and employees, rubles	226.6	240	109.5
Average monthly remewration of kolkhoz members on the socially-owned sector of kolkhozes, rubles	180	196	108
Payments and benefits to the population from social consumption funds	185	187	106.6
Retail commodity turnover of state and cooperative trade	394.0	403.5	108.1
Paid services to the population	68.6	67.1	108.2

[Footnotes in parentheses within tabulation are explained as follows:]

(Footnote) (1—According to sum of plans of enterprises and organizations; 2—In actual prices)

As a result of carrying out a package of measures to improve finances, the planned excess of state budget expenditure over income in the sum of R120.8 billion was reduced to R92 billion according to the assessment. The state internal debt approached R400 billion.

Turnover tax conttributed R111.1 billion which is R10.1 billion, or 10 percent, more than the level of the previous year.

More profit was obtained in 1989 than in the previous year. However a substantial proportion of this increase was engendered by an unwarranted increase in prices. Almost every fifth industrial enterprise and construction organization failed to fulfill the plan in terms of financial results and 6 percent incurred losses.

The growth of economic incentive funds continued. According to preliminary data industrial enterpries alone deducated R105 billion into these funds in 1989. The remaining assests in the economic incentive fund at the beginning of 1990 amounted to about R34 billion.

The issue of money into circulation exceeded the 1988 level by 36 percent and amounted to more than R18 billion.

The actual increase of prices for consumer goods and paid services amounted to 2 percent in comparison with 1988. Taking account of the increase in unsatisfied demand ("hidden inflation") the scale of inflation in the consumer sector reached 7.5 percent.

Social Development

The population. of the USSR totaled 288.8 million persons at the beginning of 1990. It had increased by 2.1 million people, or 0.7 percent, in the course of the year. The lower population growth rate is due mainly to a smaller number of births. The overall birth rate for the year decreased from 18.8 to 17.6 children born per 1,000 inhabitants. The biggest decrease was registered in the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR], the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR], and the Ukrainian SSR. Life expectancy constituted 69.5 years, thus remaining essentially at the 1988 level.

Employment of the population. In 1989 the country's labor resources totaled 164 million people—an increase of 0.9 million over the year. People employed in the national economy totaled 139 million, of which in the state sector—120.3 million (including department workers and employees, formerly not included in this category), kolkhoz members—11.6 million, cooperative members (not counting people doing a second job)—2.9 million, people working in individual subsidiary farming—4 million, and in individual labor activity—0.3 million. There are 11.9 million full-time students. Of the total able-bodied population around 13 million people are not employed in social production. More than one-third of them are women employed in the household and bringing up children; 4 million are people who are temporarily out of work in connection with changing jobs, the seasonal nature of their work, unemployed disabled persons in Group III, and also people who seek to evade socially useful labor and others; 4 million people are servicemen. In union and autonomous republics of Central Asia, the Transcaucasus, North Caucasus, and certain other regions of the country the problem of finding jobs for the unemployed population is growing more acute.

Despite the existence of free labor resources, jobs at a number of enterprises remain vacant. In industry their number totals 977,000, in road transport 119,000, in the construction industry 654,000, and in trade and public catering 245,000.

During the past year 1.3 million people were released from state production enterprises and organizations and many of them switched to enterprises and organizations in the service sphere. However, the total number of people employed in the sphere of material production increased by 0.1 percent as a result of the rapid development of the cooperative sector.

The number of people employed in cooperatives engaging in the production of goods and services (including people combining more than one job) totaled 4.5 million people. They produced goods (services) to the value of R40 billion, which is more than 1.5 percent of the total retail trade turnover and paid services volume. Of the cooperative members, 14 percent work in the consumer service sphere, 16 percent work in the production of consumer goods, 28 percent provide construction services, and 9 percent work in design and scientific research cooperatives and cooperatives devising software.

In all the sectors of the national economy labor discipline has deteriorated, and absenteeism, stoppages, and cadre turnover have increased. Losses of working time in industry and construction increased by 30 percent and totaled more than 40 million man-days, which is equivalent to the absence from their work places of more than 140,000 people every day. Cadre-turnover in the aforementioned sectors was the highest of all the years of the 12th 5-Year Plan and totaled 14 percent in industry and 17 percent in construction. During the past year as a result of strikes in a number of the country's regions more than 7 million man-days were lost. On every day during the past year, on average around 30,000 people did not work as a result of strikes. Direct production losses (work not carried out) totaled R0.8 billion alone.

As a result of the improvement of the organizational structures of management, the number of union and republican ministries and departments was reduced by 25 percent. At present there are 76 union ministries and 568 republican ministries. The total number of management organ apparatus employees has decreased by 254,000 people, or 14 percent, in comparison with the 3d quarter of 1988; that of the union and republic ministry and department central apparatus by 34,000 people or 17 percent; and of the oblast level apparatus by 62,000 people, or 23 percent. **Population's incomes.** The average monthly money wage of workers and employees in the national economy increased from R220 in 1988 to R240 in 1989, while the labor remuneration of kolkhoz members increased from R182 to R196. The average monthly labor remuneration of people working in cooperatives, including people combining more than one job, exceeded R500.

In 1989 the wages of people working in health care and social security continued to rise. As from December new, higher salaries for professorial and teaching staff at higher educational establishments were introduced. Measures to ensure wage regulation at rayon level were implemented. Furthermore, additional advantages were introduced in respect of the labor remuneration of workers in the coal and shale industry and mine construction. A total of R2 billion was spent from the state budget for wage increases in 1989. The introduction of new labor remuneration conditions for workers in the sphere of culture which was planned for 1989 will be implemented in phases as from 1990.

The switch is being completed to new wage rates and salary scales for workers at enterprises in industry, construction, transport, communications, trade, public catering, and material and technical supply funded from own resources. In agriculture as from the beginning of 1990, around half the workers were switched to new labor remuneration conditions.

The salaries of USSR, union, and autonomous republic councils of ministers, ministry and department apparatus, soviet executive committee, social organization, and other central institution staffers have been increased within the limits of the savings achieved by cutting expenditure for the maintenance of management organs.

The population received payments and benefits totaling R187 billion from social consumption funds, which is R11.6 billion more than in 1988. Around 50 percent of these were payments in money.

The population's monetary incomes increased by almost R64 billion, or R12.9 percent, in comparison with the previous year, and exceeded the planned target by R57.7 billion. The monetary income growth rate exceeded the increase in expenditure for goods and services (totaling 9.1 percent) by 40 percent.

The population's deposits at USSR Savings Bank branches increased by R41 billion in 1989 and reached R337.7 billion.

According to a study of 90,000 family budgets, the average per capita aggregate incomes of workers and employees increased by 6 percent and totaled R159 per month, and of kolkhoz members 7 percent and R125, respectively.

Monetary expenditure of worker and employee families for food purchases increased by 4 percent, and for the purchases of nonfood goods by 13 percent, and of kolkhoz member families by 6 percent in both categories, in comparison with the previous year.

At the beginning of 1990 the number of pensioners reached 60 million. As from 1 October 1989 the minimum old-age pension has been increased to R70 per month which has made it possible to improve the material position of 20 million pensioners, including 8 million kolkhoz members. The material position has been improved of 2 million disabled persons in Group I and II, whose minimum pensions have been increased to R85 and R70, respectively, and of 800,000 servicemen's widows, for whom pensions due to loss of breadwinner of at least R60 per month have been laid down. Differences in working people's pensions between cities and the countryside have been eliminated. The expenditure for the implementation of these measures totaled R1.3 billion in the 4th quarter of 1989 alone.

Consumer goods (including alcoholic beverages) to the value of R426 billion (in retail prices) were produced, which is R30 billion, or 7 percent, more that during the previous year. Of the total volume of output R343 billion worth of goods were dispatched into the trade network, and R83 billion worth were allocated to nonmarket consumers, for industrial processing, and other purposes. Goods imports rose by approximately R8 billion, or 19 percent, against 1988.

The production of relatively expensive goods increased. In the light industry, for instance, the production of goods sold with markups on retail prices increased by 11 percent, while the production of other goods increased by only 1.5 percent. The share of goods sold with markups accounted for 37 percent of the total light industry output.

The production of consumer goods is described by the following data (in retail prices, billion rubles):

	Actual Production in 1989	Percentage fulfillment of plan	1989 as percentage of 1988
Consumer Goods	426	99	107
of which:			
Food Products	145	96	103.2
Alcoholic Beverages	51	107	121
Nonfood Goods	230	99.1	107.7
of which:			
Light Industry Goods	97.2	98	104.7

In conditions of the current conversion, the production of consumer goods has increased faster at defense sector enterprises than in the industry as a whole. The increase in the output of goods by these enterprises totaled 11 percent.

The production of individual types of foodstuffs in 1989 is characterized by the following figures:

	Actual Production in 1989	Percentage 1989 as fulfillment of plan	1989 as percentage of 1988
Meat (industrial products), million tonnes	12.9	103	100.9
Sausage products, million tonnes	3.9	102	102
Edible fish products, including canned fish, million tonnes	5.7	104	96
Butter, million tonnes	1.7	105	100.4
Full fat cheese, million tonnes	0.9	103	101
Wholemilk products in milk equivalent, million tonnes	34.6	103	103
Margarine products, million tonnes	1.5	92	100.6
Granulated sugar, million tonnes,	13.3	100.2	111
of which sugar from sugar beets	8.8	96	107
Vegetable oil, million tonnes	3.2	90	103
Confectionery products million tonnes	5.1	103	105
Tea, high quality, packaged, thousand tonnes	297	102	108
Common salt (extracted), million tonnes	15.0	102	101
Canned food, billion standard cans	20.9	99	99
of which canned fruit and vegetables	14.8	98	97
Mineral water, million dekaliters	173	100.1	102
Nonalcoholic beverages million dekaliters	613	101.0	101
Alcoholic beverages (in terms of absolute alcohol), million dekaliters	125	106	119

Production of the following items decreased during the past year: meat, sausage products, and animal oil in the Baltic republics; sausage and confectionery products, vegetable oil, and margarine products in the Georgian SSR; and whole milk and margarine products, full fat cheeses, vegetable oil, and animal oil in the Azerbaijan SSR. Sugar refining enterprises in the RSFSR, Ukrainian, Kazakh, and Moldavian SSR's failed to fulfill the plan for the production of sugar from sugar beets. Enterprises in the Belorussian and Lithuanian SSR's allowed sugar production to decline compared with the previous year.

The fulfillment of the targets for the production of individual nonfood goods was as follows: [Not every item in the following table has a figure in column three]

	Produced in 1989 of plan	Percentage fulfillment	1989 as percentage of 1988
Textiles, billion square meters	13.1	100.1	100.6
of which:			
cotton	8.1	99.6	99.9
silk	2.2	101	102
woolen	0.7	98	102
Knitwear, million items	1,923	101	102
of which, for:			

children	1,024	104	103
young people	145	114	
elderly people	85	129	
Hosiery, million pairs	2,098	100	100.1
of which, for:			
children	747	101	101
young people	187	129	
Products of the sewn goods industry (normative cost of manufacture), million rubles	4,348	104	102
of which, for:			
children	651	106	125
young people	153	132	
elderly people	82	128	
Footwear, million pairs	827	99	101
of which, for:			
children	375	100	102
young people	81	107	
elderly people	69	103	
Televisions, millions	9.9	96	103
of which, color televisions	6.3	97	111
Refrigerators and freezers, millions	6.5	99.1	104
Radio receivers, millions	8.6	92	107
Tape recorders, millions	5.7	99	103
Video recorders, thousands	125	104	171
Sewing machines, thousands	1,553	86	100.2
of which, "zigzag" machines	974	91	98
Washing machines, millions	6.7	9.5	110
Vacuum cleaners, millions	5.1	96	106
Furniture, billion rubles	9.6	97	107
Motorcycles, thousands	990	97	100.8
Bicycles (excluding children's bicycles), millions	5.6	94	99.4
Cars, thousands	1,217	96	96
China and earthenware, million rubles	1,096	101	104
Wallpaper, million standard lengths	578	102	103
Bleached paper products, million rubles	906	107	109
Cells and batteries for household electrical items, millions	1,029	96	106
Summerhouses (in respect of delivery to trading organizations), thousands	130	93	126
Synthetic detergents (in small packages), thousand tonnes	1,119	103	110
Household soap, thousand tonnes	726	99	110
Toilet soap, thousand tonnes	306	91	107

Enterprises of the USSR Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry and Instrument Making failed to fulfill the targets for production of washing machines and electric irons, enterprises of the USSR Ministry of the Aviation Industry failed to fulfill those for vacuum cleaners and tape recorders, enterprises of the USSR Ministry of the Defense Industry failed to fulfill those for sewing machines and tape recorders, enterprises of the USSR Ministry of the Radio Industry failed to fulfill those for radio receivers, televisions, refrigerators and freezers, vacuum cleaners, and washing machines, enterprises of the USSR Ministry of Automotive and Agricultural Machine Building failed to fulfill those for motorcycles and bicycles (excluding children's bicycles), enterprises of the USSR Ministry of Communications failed to fulfill those for televisions, radio receivers, and tape recorders, and enterprises of the USSR Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry failed to fulfill those for washing machines.

Enterprises of the Uzbek SSR, Georgian SSR, Azerbaijan SSR, Armenian SSR, and Turkmen SSR Ministries of Light Industry failed to cope with the plans for the production of certain goods. **Retail commodity turnover and paid services.** The plan for retail commodity turnover has been fulfilled 102.4 percent, its overall volume increased by R37.3 billion in comparison with 1988. More than R9 billion of the increase in commodity turnover has been obtained through an increase in mean-group retail prices for goods purchased and R10 billion from alcoholic beverages; there has been an increase of more than R4 billion in the sale of goods to organizations, establishments, and enterprises through cashless transactions and for ready cash.

With regard to food products, the sales of meat products, animal fats, whole milk products, confectionery products, nonalcoholic beverages, mineral waters, and tobacco products have increased by 1-4 percent and sales of vegetable oil have increased by 8-10 percent. Sales of margarine products, fish products, potatoes, vegetables, vegetable and fruit juices have dropped by 1-5 percent, sales of eggs have dropped by 6 percent, and sales of fruit, citrus fruits, sugar, and tea have fallen by 10-12 percent. The sale of bread products and cheese remained at the previous year's level.

For nonfood commodities, sales of televisions, refrigerators and freezers, electric vacuum cleaners, washing machines, radio receivers, glassware, chinaware, earthenware, and slate increased by 1-5 percent; sales of outerwear, fabrics, hosiery, leather footwear, furniture, sports goods (excluding clothing and footwear), watches and clocks, and tape recorders increased by 6-12 percent; sales of gasoline for motor vehicles, timber materials, and household and toilet soap increased by 16-22 percent; sales of synthetic detergents increased by 34 percent. Sale of rubber footwear, automobiles, motorcycles, and motor scooters fell by 1-5 percent, while sales of photographic cameras, bicycles, and mopeds remained at the previous year's level.

Despite the increase in the sales of many commodities, the situation on the consumer market remains strained, and demand is outstrippng supply. By the end of last year the population's outstanding demand for goods and services amounted to R165 billion.

The trading network received virtually the same amount of food products as in 1988 despite an increase in imports of more than 20 percent. Sales of meat, sausage products, and animal fats are rationed in approximately one in five of the 445 cities surveyed. Cooperative prices for meat products in some regions of the country are more than double the state retail prices. The supply of fish and canned fish products for the population has deteriorated.

The population's requirements for confectionary products and tea are not being satisfied. Sugar is rationed virtually throughout the whole country.

In a number of areas of the country the population has an unsatisfactory supply of potatoes and fruit and vegetable produce, and their quality remains low.

The volumes of bread products allocated to the trading network are sufficient to provide the population with a regular supply. However, the demand for high-quality flour, buckwheat, hulled barley, and oatmeal has not been satisfied. Production of pasta products is inadequate; trade in buns and pastries is erratic.

The sale of many types of sewn and knitted goods, and particularly footwear, cotton underwear, women's and children's tights, and men's socks is erratic and accompanied by long lines.

Demand for many types of domestic electrical appliance, televisions, radios, photographic and cinematographic apparatus, furniture, bicycles, motorcycles, crockery, watches and clocks, perfume products and cosmetics, school notebooks, tobacco products, and other commodities is unsatisfied.

In 1989 the amount of soap and detergents channeled into the trade network corresponded on the whole with normal requirements and totaled 3.5 kilograms of toilet and household soap and 5.1 kg of synthetic detergents per capita as opposed to 2.4kg and 3.5 kg respectively in previous years. However, they are still being hoarded by consumers and this accounted for one-fifth of the annual production. In many areas of the country distribution of detergents is still rationed.

Despite a considerable increase in sales of timber and construction materials, the population's supply of many of them has not improved given the increase in the scale of individual housing construction and collective horticulture.

The unsatisfactory quality of consumer goods still provokes many complaints. In 1989 approximately 9 percent of a tested quantity of milk, dairy products, and meat was found to be defective or of reduced quality, while the figure was 12-17 percent for confectionery products, cheeses, sausage and fish products, canned fruit, vegetables, and fish, and nonalcoholic beverages. Some 1 in 5 tape recorders, 1 in 6 televisions, 1 in 14 radio receivers, and 1 in 18 refrigerators and washing machines were repaired within the guarantee period. Customers are frequently dissatisfied with the quality of goods produced by cooperatives and people engaged in individual labor activity.

The consumer goods retail price index calculated on the basis of registered prices for the representative goods totaled 102 percent in 1989 compared to 1988. The aforementioned index takes into consideration not only the change in listed prices for comparable output but also hidden price increases for new output, which manifest themselves in the fixing of prices that do not correspond with the change in the product's consumer qualities, the effect of contractual and temporary prices, seasonal price fluctuations and other price-formation factors, along with the effect of changes in the ratios of product sales in the state trading network, in cooperative stores, on the kolkhoz market, by cooperatives, and as a result of individual labor activity.

Mean prices for commodities purchased in the state and cooperative trading network and on the kolkhoz market, taking into consideration changes in the product range structure and sales outlets, have risen 2.6 percent, including 2-3 percent for sausage products, bread and bakery products, and fish, 8 percent for vegetables, 16 percent for potatoes and fruit; prices for fabrics, outerwear, knitwear, haberdashery, and tobacco products, rugs, chinaware, and earthenware have risen 2-3 percent, while prices for leather footwear, perfume products and cosmetics, hosiery, and glassware have risen 4-6 percent. Mean prices for animal and vegetable fats, milk and dairy products, eggs, and certain cultural, consumer, and household goods have remained at the same level or somewhat dropped.

Kolkhoz market prices last year in comparison with 1988 rose by 7 percent, including increases of 6 percent for meat and poultry, 8 percent for potatoes, 10 percent for vegetables, and 5 percent for fruit.

The volume of paid services totaled R67.1 billion in 1989, or 97.8 percent of the plan set at the level of the national economy. These services fell short of the plan target by R1.5 billion. The plan was not fulfilled in the RSFSR, the Georgian SSR, the Azerbaijan SSR, and the Tajik SSR. The average per capita volume of paid services totaled R233 in 1989, which represents less than one-half of rational consumption normatives.

Such forms of service as tourism, excursions, sanatoriums, health resorts, and cultural establishments' health services were not properly developed. They account for little more than 12 percent of the overall volume of services.

The volume of consumer services totaled R15.8 billion, an increase of 11.5 percent over 1988. At the same time the population's demand for repair and construction services for houses and apartments, repairs of high-technology domestic appliances, servicing of private automobiles, and so forth was not fully satisfied. The standard of service provided to the population by specialized consumer service enterprises—20 percent of which comprises work for enterprises and organizations—is unsatisfactory. **Housing and sociocultural construction.** Approximately R60 billion of capital investments have been utilized for the construction of housing and other sociocultural facilities, which represents an increase of 6 percent on 1988. These investments represented 27 percent of overall investments in the economy as opposed to 25 percent in 1988. In the last year 2.2 million apartments with a total area of 128.1 million square meters have been built. The housing commissioning target was fulfilled in the Kazakh and Kirghiz SSR's. For the first time in the current 5-year plan period the plan for the commissioning of housing was not fulfilled for the country as a whole. Fewer apartment blocks were commissioned than in the previous year to the extent of some 4.3 million square meters. The greatest lag in annual program fulfillment was allowed to occur in the Georgian, Lithuanian, Moldavian, Armenian, and Estonian SSR's. As in previous years, construction of cooperative apartment blocks lagged far behind the plan. Volumes of individual housing construction rose, and this totaled 19 percent of the overall housing commissioned, as opposed to 17 percent in 1988. However, this form of construction is being hampered due to difficulties in obtaining credits and acquiring construction materials.

The housing stock reached 4.5 billion square meters in all. The population's housing supply totaled 15.8 square meters in all, of which 10.6 square meters was living space, which is an increase of 1.9 percent over 1988, correspondingly.

The housing problem is still acute. One in five of all urban families living in state and public housing stock and stock belonging to housing construction cooperatives is waiting in line for housing (of which one-third have been waiting for 5-10 years and 18 percent for more than 10 years).

The housing problem is particularly acute for young families. One in 10 young families rent housing from private citizens. According to calculations, more than 2.5 million young families of workers and employees are waiting in line for improved housing conditions; moreover, one-third of them have been waiting for 5-10 years.

General education schools providing 1.5 million places for pupils have been constructed from all sources of finance, which is 11 percent less than the previous year. Almost one-third of them were commissioned after the beginning of the academic year. The annual target was not fulfilled for the country as a whole. It was fulfilled in the Ukrainian, Belorussian, Uzbek, Kirghiz, and Turkmen SSR's.

Preschool establishments providing 539,000 places were commissioned, which is 16 percent less than 1988. The plan was only fulfilled in the Ukrainian, Belorussian, Kirghiz, and Turkmen SSR's.

Vocational and technical educational establishments providing 62,000 places were constructed. The annual commissioning program was not fulfilled both for the USSR as a whole and throughout the union republics, with the exception of the Kirghiz SSR.

Outpatient and polyclinic establishments with a capacity for 183,000 visits per shift and hospitals providing 66,000 beds were commissioned. The annual plan for them was not fulfilled. The greatest lag in commissioning health care facilities was permitted to occur in the Georgian, Azerbaijan, Lithuanian, and Armenian SSR's.

Club establishments providing 284,000 places were constructed, which is 52,000 places less than in 1988. The annual plan was not fulfilled.

A serious lag was permitted to occur in the construction of homes for the elderly and invalids. Facilities of this kind providing 8,600 places were commissioned, which represents less than half the annual plan. No facilities of this kind were commissioned in the Georgian, Azerbaijan, Kirghiz, Tajik, and Turkmen SSR's.

The targets set for the commissioning of social facilities in the Armenian SSR earthquake zones were not met. The level of plan fulfillment for the commissioning of housing using state capital investments totaled 12 percent, while that for the commissioning of schools, preschool establishments, clubs, and cultural facilities totaled 1.4-8.6 percent. No polyclinics were commissioned.

Public education. Some 106 million people study and are enhancing their qualifications at the country's educational establishments.

As in the last academic year, one in four schoolchildren—one in three in the Central Asian republics—study on the second shift. More than 100,000 schoolchildren study on the third shift. Some 2.2. million 6-year olds are studying under the first-grade program in schools and preschool establishments.

Approximately 18 million, or approximately 60 percent of children of the relevant age, are studying in permanent preschool establishments. However, the population's demand for preschool establishments is not satisfied. Approximately 2 million children need places in kindergartens and creches.

Higher educational establishments [VUZ's] and secondary special educational establishments admitted 1.1 million and 1.4 million people respectively, which represents a decrease of 2 and 6 percent respectively on 1988. Some 15 percent of daytime students are studying on the basis of contracts between enterprises (organizations), VUZ's, and students. The number of students totaled 5.2 million, while the number of students at secondary special educational establishments exceeded 4 million.

The number of admissions to vocational and technical colleges totaled 2.2. million, a 13-percent decrease in comparison with 1988.

There were 134,000 public libraries with a stock of books of more than 2 billion copies.

The provision of of club facilities for the population has not changed over the last few years. Visits to movie shows have dropped by 4 percent. The number of people frequenting professional theaters also dropped. The main reasons for this are the increase in central, republic, and local television broadcasting and the development of the video hall network.

Newspaper and journal circulations have substantially increased with the introduction of unlimited subscription. More than 2 billion copies of books and brochures were published.

Protecting the population's health. The incidence of disease among the population involving temporary incapacity for work decrease somewhat, while at the same time the number of domestic injuries and poisonings increased. In comparison with the previous year there was an increase of almost 40,000, or 16 percent, in the number of people who died as a result of accidents, poisoning, and injury, including an increase of 2,500 in those who died from alcoholic poisoning.

The capacity of hospital establishments rose over the year by 64,000 beds and that of outpatient and polyclinic establishments by 267,000 visits per shift. The network of diagnostic centers expanded. By the beginning of 1990 there were 1.3 million medics and 3.5 million auxiliary medical staff in the country, an increase of 2 and 3 percent respectively on the previous year. However, there have been no substantial changes in the organization of the medical service. It is still characterized by lack of amenities in hospital premises, lack of modern apparatus and equipment, shortage of medicines and linen, and poor catering.

In order to prevent the spread of AIDS more than 800 blood testing laboratories have been developed to test for the HIV virus. Some 428 HIV carriers and 23 AIDS sufferers have been detected among Soviet citizens throughout the country as a whole, of whom 14 have died.

At the same time, owing to holdups in the commissioning of capacities at USSR Ministry of the Medical Industry and USSR Ministry of General Machine Building enterprises, production of disposable syringes has not been organized in the requisite quantities. In 1989 192 million were produced—2.5 times fewer than the planned figure. More than 300 million syringes were imported. **Crime.** Some 2.5 million crimes were recorded in the country, an increase of 32 percent on the previous year. Of these, one in seven were serious crimes and one in three remain unsolved. The crime rate rose virtually everywhere, particularly in the Estonian SSR—by 57 percent; the Lithuanian SSR—by 46 percent; and the Belorussian SSR—by 36 percent.

The number of thefts and robberies involving violence rose by a factor of 1.7—112,000 and 22,000 respectively were recorded. Thefts of personal property rose by a factor of 1.5, and within that category the number of apartment burglaries increased by a factor of 1.4. Recorded thefts of state and public property increased by a factor of 1.7 in comparison with 1988, including increases of 1.5 and 1.7 times respectively for thefts from warehouses, bases, stores, and other trading points and thefts of freight from railroad, water, and air transport.

Some 19,000 premeditated murders, 51,500 cases of deliberate grievous bodily harm, and 22,000 rapes and attempted rapes were committed—which represents increases of 31, 38, and 24 percent respectively in comparison with 1988.

Some 224,000 crimes were committed by or involved minors (an increase of 22 percent), 341,000 were committed by previous offenders (an increase of 13 percent), and more than 424,000 were committed by persons in a state of drunkenness (an increase of 17 percent in comparison with the previous year).

Some 955 thefts of firearms and ammunition were recorded, an increase of 1.5 times on 1988.

Instances of mass disturbances accompanied by pogroms, destruction, arson, and other such actions were recorded in a number of regions in the Azerbaijan, Armenian, Georgian, Kazakh, Moldavian, and Uzbek SSRs.

State of the environment. The total expenditure on environmental conservation (including expenditure on forestry) totaled more than R12 billion, including more than R3 billion in state capital investments. In all expenditure rose by more than R0.5 billion in comparison with 1988.

A number of major environmental conservation facilities were commissioned at the Volgograd and Bratsk Aluminum Plants, the Yermakov Ferroalloys Plant (Kazakh SSR), the Karaganda No. 3 heat and electric power station [TETS], the Zaporozhye nuclear electric power station [AES], the Lipetsk Tractor Plant, the Ribnitsa Cement and Slate Combine (Moldavian SSR), and other enterprises.

The discharge of harmful substances into the country's atmosphere from stationary sources fell in comparison with 1988 by 5 percent. The discharge of pollutants into the atmosphere from enterprises under the jurisdiction of the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification, the USSR Ministry of Metallurgy, the USSR Ministry of the Petroleum and Gas Industry, and other ministries was reduced.

However, enterprises affiliated to the "Soyuzstroymaterialov" Association, the USSR Glavalmazolot [Main Administration for Diamond and Gold Extraction], the USSR Ministry of Transport Construction, and the Ukrainian, Belorussian, and Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers increased their discharge of harmful substances into the atmosphere as a whole (by approximately 3 percent).

Moreover, the measures implemented did not ensure an improvement in the ecological situation everywhere. As in previous years, a high level of air pollution was recorded in many major cities; the concentration of pollutants considerably exceeded the sanitary norms in a number of cases.

There are still serious shortcomings in water use. There has been virtually no reduction in water loss during transportation in the state irrigation networks, which totals an average of 19 percent of the total amount of water drawn. The water resources and ecological situation is still serious in the Aral Sea and a number of other water sources. Reservoirs are still being polluted as a result of the discharge of industrial and domestic effluent, moreover a considerable amount of pollution is linked with the ineffective operation of water purifying installations.

Accidental (one-time) pollution has had a serious negative effect on the state of the environment. In 1989 State Committee for Environmental Protection bodies recorded approximately 2,000 cases of this kind of pollution of the atmosphere, water resources, and land. In particular, accidental atmospheric pollution was permitted to occur by the "Orenburggazprom," "Astrakhangazprom," and "Azot" (Kemerovo) Production Associations, and other enterprises.

As a result of damage to municipal water purifying installations large amounts of polluted effluent were discharged into the Oka and Ob rivers in Orel and Barnaul. In Ufa the "Khimprom" Production Association permitted the accidental discharge of phenols into the Belaya river.

The 1989 state order made provision for the commissioning of 152 nature conservation facilities, but only 74 were commissioned. The commissioning of environmental protection facilities was not ensured, in particular, at the Selenginsk Pulp and Cardboard Combine, the Magnitogorsk Metallurgical Combine, the Donetsk Metallurgical Combine, the Frunze Antibiotic Plant, the Voskresensk "Minudobreniy" Production Association, the Rostov AES, in the Kostroma and Ivano-Frankovsk municipal sewerage systems, and at other enterprises.

Scientific and Technical Progress and Resource Saving

Last year measures were carried out to implement scientific and technical programs and save resources. Fifteen scientific discoveries in physics, chemistry, biology, and medicine and 85,000 inventions were registered on state rolls.

There was an increase in the activeness of scientific organizations that had switched to the new management conditions. The number of contracts with enterprises for research and planning work increased and funding from centralized sources was reduced. At the same time, checks carried out by the USSR People's Control Committee and USSR State Committee for Science and Technology on the work of academic and sectoral institutes and VUZ's showed that the content of economic contracts changed fundamentally with the switch to the system of contract prices for scientific and technical products. In the drive to swiftly obtain the maximum income, some work began to be carried out without through scientific research. And, in contravention of established procedures, many contract prices are not validated from the technical and economic viewpoint and are not linked to the scientific standard of the studies. In many organizations the increase in pay has considerably outstripped the fruitfulness of work. As of December 1989 the action of the government resolution on switching to economic accountability and self-financing was suspended for scientific and planning organizations subordinate to the USSR State Committee for Construction Affairs and the union republic State Committees for Construction Affairs.

The state of science's material and technical facilities remains unsatisfactory. For instance, the proportion of machinery and equipment over 10 years old is 21 percent in scientific organizations and 30 percent at experimental facilities. According to the organizations' estimate, the proportion of equipment (costing over R30,000 per unit) whose technical standard exceeds or matches world standards is little more than 20 percent. Only 40 percent of scientific research organizations and 14 percent of VUZ's had their own experimental testing departments.

The state order for commissioning facilities for intersectoral scientific and technical complexes and experimental testing facilities for scientific research and planning and design organizations was not fulfilled. Only 21 of 37 facilities were commissioned.

In industry 4,400 new types of products were assimilated and brought into production. Ecologically clean laser installations for strengthening components were created, along with automated rotary-conveyor lines to manufacture components for disposable syringes, apparatus for irradiating malignant tumors, and electrical stimulators which help to restore sight. Production was started of fourth-generation "Temp" color television sets with remote control and reduced power consumption and "Elektronika VM-18" color video recorders with enhanced technical and economic performance.

Components for faster microcircuits were created and tested for computers.

Renewal of products in the machine building complex reached 13.1 percent, which is 2.1 percent up on the plan.

The state order for 1989 for the development of science and technology was fulfilled by 86 percent (88 percent for the fuel and energy complex, 99 percent for the metallurgical complex, 85 for the chemical and timber complex, 92 for the machine building complex, and 73 percent for the agro-industrial complex). Enterprises, in particular those of the USSR Ministry of the Chemical and Petroleum Refining Industry, the USSR Ministry of the Radio Industry, the USSR Ministry of the Defense Industry, and the "Energomash" Moscow City Division, have not started delivering 18 of the 208 new items of machinery, equipment, and materials.

The planned volume of use of new equipment and technology was not reached. Enterprises in the machine building complex installed 40 percent fewer rotary and rotary-conveyor lines and industrial robots and 20 percent fewer metal-cutting machine tools with digital program control and industrial lasers than in the previous year. There was virtually no change in the volume of introduction of processing centers and flexible automated production systems.

In the fuel and energy complex 77 percent (76 percent in 1988) of coal was produced at mines by mechanized complexes. Oil extracted by modern resource-saving methods (thermal, physicochemical, and hydrodynamic) still constitutes a trivial proportion of overall extraction (9 percent).

In the metallurgical complex there was a decline in production of rolled metal sheets with protective coatings and heat-treated rolled metal. Production of cold-rolled sheet increased by only 0.5 percent. Continuous casting of steel constituted 18.2 percent of total output, compared with 17.6 percent in 1988, and oxygen-converter and electric steel constituted 46.5 percent (46 percent in 1988).

In the chemical and timber complex the depth of refining of crude oil increased by less than 1 percent compared to the previous year and stood at 62.6 percent, which is considerably lower than the level maintained in developed countries. Production of newsprint with a reduced pulp content that makes it possible to reduce proportionate timber consumption by 10 percent does not exceed 54 percent of the total volume of newsprint (59 percent in 1988), compared to a planned 70 percent. The proportion of synthetic fibers and yarns and radial tires increased somewhat.

In the construction complex 18.2 percent of cement (17.5 percent in 1988) was produced by the "dry" method, which reduces by approximately one-third the proportionate consumption of fuel.

In general-purpose railroad transport 63.5 percent (the plan was 65 percent) of freight was hauled by electric locomotives, compared to 63 percent the previous year.

Targets for saving fuel and energy resources by reducing consumption norms were met and around 30 million tonnes (in standard fuel) of these resources were saved. Moreover, more than 60 million tonnes of secondary fuel and heat resources were used.

In machine building and metalworking a reduction in metal consumption norms (per R1 million of output) saved over 4 million tonnes of metal, including around 2.4 million tonnes of rolled ferrous metals. Only one-fourth of the saving was achieved by reducing individual consumption norms; the rest was obtained by changing the production structure and prices. In construction, consumption of rolled ferrous metals, cement, and timber per R1 million of construction and installation work remained at the 1988 level.

Because of the slow introduction of progressive production processes, economical materials, mechanization facilities, and highly productive equipment there has been no reduction in losses of material resources. There has been virtually no reduction in the level of waste in machine building in recent years and it constitutes 27 percent of the metal consumed, with swarf making up nearly one-half of all waste. At machine-building enterprises approximately 1 percent of the metal consumed represents overconsumption. At construction sites and construction industry enterprises losses of cement and rolled ferrous metal were 100,000 tonnes in each case. Moreover, more than 6 million tonnes of rolled metal, 30 million tonnes of cement, and around 15 million cubic meters of timber were "frozen" in the sphere of above-normative uncompleted construction.

Overconsumption of fuel and energy resources merely through partial loading of equipment and violation of production procedures was around 4 million tonnes of standard fuel. Use of secondary raw material at enterprises of many ministries and departments fell compared to the previous year.

The energy-intensiveness of national income fell by 0.7 percent compared to the previous year and the metal-intensiveness fell by 2.8 percent, which is considerably lower than the level envisaged by the annual plan. Thus, there was no breakthrough in resource-saving.

Industry

Contract commitments for deliveries of products in accordance with the state order and under direct links with consumers were fulfilled by 98.6 percent. Consumers failed to receive products worth R10.6 billion (the delivery shortfall was R8.6 billion in 1988). One association and enterprise in five failed to meet contract commitments.

The level of fulfillment of contract commitments was low in industry in the Armenian SSR (96.3 percent), Azerbaijan SSR (96.8 percent), and Georgian SSR (97.6 percent). At the same time, contract commitments for deliveries of output were fulfilled by 99.8 percent in the Belorussian SSR and by 99.4 percent in the Estonian

SSR. The **increase in industrial production** in 1989 was 1.7 percent, and average daily output rose by 2.2 percent. The negligible rate of increase in production stems largely from industry's unsatisfactory work in the second half of 1989. Thus, while the increase in output was 2.7 percent in the 1st 6 months, it dropped to 1.0 percent in the 3d quarter and to 0.9 percent in the 4th. The total volume of industrial production in the Azerbaijan and Armenian SSR's decreased in comparison with 1988.

An important feature of the past year reflecting the reorientation of the economy in favor of the social sphere is the substantially greater rate of increase in the output of group "B" in industry by comparison with the rate of increase in group "A" output. For the year as a whole the increase in output was 4.8 percent in group "B" and 0.7 percent in group "A."

Output per worker increased by 3.1 percent. The entire increase in industrial output was secured via improved labor productivity, there being an absolute decrease in the number of workers. The greatest increase in output was achieved in industry in the Kirghiz SSR (6.6 percent), Lithuanian SSR (5.9 percent), and Belorussian and Latvian SSR's (5 percent each).

The volumes of wholesale trade almost trebled over 1988. Around 8,000 group descriptions of output were freely sold. At the same time wholesale trade via USSR Gossnab [State Committee for Material and Technical Supply] territorial organs accounted for only 3-15 percent of the total volume of centrally allocated output for production and technical purposes.

There remain shortcomings in the use of capacities at new enterprises and facilities. According to a survey, two-thirds of capacities commissioned over the last 2 years were in practice working at half their potential.

New capacities for the production of walling materials were working at only 25 percent of potential, new capacities for the production of linoleum were working at 40 percent of potential, new capacities for the production of cement and shaving slabs were working at 33 percent of potential, and new capacities for the production of precast ferroconcrete were working at 62 percent of potential.

Assimilation of new capacities at the Sumy, Namangan, and Vladimir footwear factories, the Tbilisi and Tuymazy (Bashkir ASSR) nonwoven materials factories, cheese at the Akhtyrka cheese plant in Sumy Oblast, and wholemilk products at the Leningrad dairy combine is lagging considerably behind the planned production norms. Practically no ready-to-use medicines have been produced at the new capacities at the Gorkiy and Frunze chemical and pharmaceutical plants.

At the surveyed facilities alone, losses of output as a result of the untimely assimilation of commissioned capacities totaled over R1.5 billion in 1989, including 196 million standard bricks of walling material, a total of over 700,000 square meters of panels for large-panel housing construction, 10 million items of knitwear, 13 million square meters of nonwoven materials, and other output.

Production of certain of the most important types of output in complexes in 1989 is as follows:

Fuel and Energy Complex

	Actual Output in 1989	Percentage Fulfillment of 1989 plan	As percentage of 1988
Electricity, billion kilowatt-hours	1,722		101
Petroleum (including gas condensate), million tonnes	607	97	97
Gas, billion cubic meters	796	100.6	103
Coal, million tonnes	740	100.1	96

Enterprises in the fuel and energy complex failed to supply consumers with output worth a total of R948 million, and 98.2 percent of contractual commitments were fulfilled. Forty percent of production associations and enterprises in the complex failed to cope with contracts. The USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry accounts for over half the shortfall in deliveries of output.

Average daily extraction of petroleum, including gas condensate, at USSR Ministry of the Petroleum and Gas Industry enterprises was 2.6 percent down on the previous year. Production of petroleum, including gas condensate, fell around 13 million tonnes short of the plan targets, which stems primarily from the unsatisfactory work of a number of large associations carrying out extraction work on the territory of West Siberia.

Coal extraction in 1989 was 32 million tonnes down on the previous year. Moreover, enterprises' coal extraction plans were decreased by 27 million tonnes over the course of the year. To some extent this decrease results from consumers' rejection of certain low-efficiency types of power industry coal. The total volume of coal extraction was adversely affected by the strikes in a number of the country's main coal-mining regions. The national economy failed to receive around 7 million tonnes of coal, including a considerable quantity of coking coal, as a result of the strikes. Extraction of coking coals was 6 percent down on 1988. The USSR Ministry of Metallurgy failed to receive 3 million tonnes of coking coal featured in the state order. Some 1.9 million tonnes of coal was not supplied for export, and 2 million tonnes was not supplied to the population in the form of market stocks.

The decline in coal extraction necessitated an increase in gas extraction, which exceeded the targets by 5 billion cubic meters.

Metallurgical Complex

	Actual Output in 1989	Percentage Fulfilllent of 1989 plan	As percentage of 1988
Steel, million tonnes	160	99	98
Rolled ferrous metals (finished), million tonnes	118	99.6	99.6
Steel pipes, million tonnes	20.6	99	99
Iron ore, million tonnes	241	100.4	97

In 1989 enterprises in the metallurgical complex failed to fulfill the state order for production of finished rolled metal (fulfillment was 98 percent), steel pipes (98), lead (97), primary aluminum (96), zinc (98), and magnesium and magnesium alloys (99.8 percent).

The work of metallurgical enterprises was affected by interruptions in supplies of coking coals and metal scrap.

The national economy's needs for metal products of specified grades have not been fully satisfied. Targets were not fulfilled for production of rolled sheet (fulfillment was 99 percent), cold-rolled sheet (99.1), heat-treated rolled metal (99), low-alloy rolled steel (96), high-strength drilling pipes (93), cold-drawn sectional steel (98 percent), and a number of other types of metal products whose use provides considerable metal savings for consumers.

Contractual commitments for deliveries of output were 97.8 percent fulfilled by enterprises of the complex; the value of the undersupplied output totaled R1.7 billion. Forty percent of the complex' enterprises failed to cope with their contractual commitments.

Machine-Building Complex

	1989 Actual Production	Percentage Fulfillment of 1989 plan	Percentage of 1988
Special, specialized, and standard-unit metal-cutting machine tools—thousands	48.3	102	98
Metal-cutting machine tools with digital program control—thousands	23.7	103	106
Forging and pressing machines with digital program control—thousands	2.3	100.7	109
Instruments, automation means, and spare parts—billion rubles	5.6	103	106
Medical equipment and spare parts—billion rubles	1.2	111	107
Computer equipment and spare parts—billion rubles	7.7	105	120
Rolling equipment—million rubles	253	94	110
Oil apparatus—million rubles	229	86	85
Chemical equipment and spare parts—billion rubles	1.1	98	102
Tractors—thousands	532	97	95
Agricultural machines and machines and equipment for livestock raising and feed production—billion rubles	6.4	100.6	93
Excavators—thousands	36.4	90	87
Lead car batteries and storage batteries—millions	9.1	98	98

The growth in the total volume of machine-building complex output last year amounted to 3.2 percent. The production of progressive types of equipment increased more rapidly.

The production of many types of equipment for light industry, the processing sectors of the agro-industrial complex, and trade and public catering enterprises was lower than planned. Moreover, the production of individual types of the said equipment declined in 1989.

Enterprises fulfilled their contractual commitments 98.6 percent; they failed to supply consumers with output worth R1.4 billion. Contractual discipline was breached by 38 percent of production associations and enterprises.

Chemical and Timber Complex

	1989 Actual Production	Percentage Fulfillment of 1989 plan	Percentage of 1988
Mineral fertilisers (in 100-percent nutrient substance equivalent)—million tonnes	34.3	98	92
Sulfuric acid—million tonnes	28.3	96	96
Caustic soda—million tonnes	3.2	95	96
Chemical fibers and yarns—million tonnes	1.6	100.2	100.2
Synthetic resins and plastics—million tonnes	5.8	97	102
Pipes and pipeline parts made from thermoplasts—thousand tonnes	197	94	107
Truck tires—millions	27.5	99	100.8
Car tires—millions	24.4	102	103
Medication—billion rubles	3.7	102	106
Paper—million tonnes	6.3	99.1	99.9
of which, newsprint—billion square meters	37.1	98	102
Cardboard—million tonnes	4.3	98	96
School notebooks—billions	4.9	100.6	102

Almost one-half of the complex enterprises (46 percent) failed to cope with their commitments to consumers (in 1988 the figure for such enterprises was 40 percent). Moreover the volume of undersupplied output increased by 50 percent in comparison with 1988 to total R2.5 billion in 1989. Contractual commitments for output deliveries were 97.7 percent fulfilled.

The work of raw material production facilities and the persisting disproportions between individual sectors impacted adversely on the results of the complex' activity.

The state order for the production of highly efficient types of synthetic resins and plastics was not fulfilled. Production facilities for the manufacture of pipes and pipeline parts from thermoplasts and a number of other products of polymer processing are operating with a considerable lag. Enterprises manufacturing synthetic dyes, movie film, and rubber footwear failed to attain the planned level.

All major lumber-procurement associations worked unsatistactorily last year The national economy was undersupplied to the tune of approximately 15 million cubic meters of commercial timber and over 3 million cubic meters of lumber.

Construction Materials Industry

	1989 Actual Production	Percentage Fulfillment of 1989n plan	Percentage of 1988
Cement—million tonnes	140	100.5	100.7
Asbestos cement sheets (slate)—billion standard tiles	9.0	99.3	101
Asbestos cement pipes and sleeves—thousands of kilometers of standard pipe	82.7	96	99.2
Soft roofing materials and insulation—billion square meters	2.0	99	98
Three-ply shatterproof glass (triplex)—million square meters	2.8	100.3	104

The set targets for the production of basic construction industry output were not met; the production of individual materials of high construction readiness—prefabricated ferroconcrete, light metal structures, prefabricated buildings (modules)—was curtailed. The industry's debt to construction workers in terms of slate amounted to 60 million standard tiles, more than 3,000 km of asbestos cement pipes, and more than 23 million square meters of soft roofing materials. The lag permitted is adversely affecting the fulfillment of the construction program and is taking it out of step with the material and technical supply. Thus, in particular, the lag by construction industry enterprises in fulfilling the annual plan for the manufacture of panels and other structures for large-panel housebuilding to the tune of 1.6 million square meters of overall area has prevented the construction of more than 30,000 apartments.

Agro-Industrial Complex

The total volume of agro-industrial complex output amounted to R475 billion (in comparable prices) and showed an increase of 1.9 percent over 1988. The envisaged increase in gross agricultural output was not achieved. Against a calculated plan growth rate of 6.6 for 1989 its volume actually rose by only 1 percent for the year. Over the 4 years of the 5-year plan as a whole the average annual volume of gross agricultural output has increased by 9.8 percent in comparison with the preceding 5-year plan, against 5-year-plan calculations of 12.9 percent for this period. Labor productivity in social-sector agriculture increased by 5 percent over the year, with a reduction of 700,000 in the number of working people. Kolkhozes and sovkhozes obtained more than R45 billion profit in 1989; the profitability of agricultural production amounted to 31 percent. The number of farms operating at a loss declined and totaled 1,400 (3 percent of the total number of kolkhozes and sovkhozes).

The creation of peasant farms began at the end of the year. As of 1 January 1990 3,900 had been formed in the Latvian SSR, 1,200 in the Lithuanian SSR, and 800 in the Estonian SSR.

The production of grain, potatoes, and sunflowers in the country increased in 1989; a good sugar beet harvest was grown. At the same time the production of vegetables, grapes, and cotton declined.

The gross harvest of the main agricultural crops on all categories of farms is characterized by the following data (in millions of tonnes):

	Annual Average			
	1981-85	1986-89	1988	1989
All grain crops:				
at initial receipt weight	180.3	206.9	195.0	211.1
weight after final treatment [dorabotka]	168.8	191.1	180.2	196.4
Raw cotton	8.3	8.4	8.7	8.6
Sugar beets (for processing)	76.4	88.9	88.0	97.5
Sunflowers	5.0	6.1	6.2	7.0
Potatoes	78.4	74.4	62.7	72.0
Vegetables and cucurbits	33.3	33.9	34.5	33.5
Fruits and berries (excluding citrus)	10.4	9.6	8.9	9.9
Grapes	7.1	5.7	5.6	4.9

In 1989 the production of hulled crops amounted to 7,139,000 tonnes (weight after final treatment) and increased in comparison with 1988 by 731,000 tonnes—including 238,000 tonnes of buckwheat and 834,000 tonnes of millet. Rice production fell by 341,000 tonnes, or 13 percent.

For the country as a whole the grain crop yield in 1989 (initial receipt weight) amounted to 18.8 quintals per hectare against 1988's figure of 17 quintals. Fifty-nine million tonnes entered the state's grain reserves—27.3 million tonnes fewer than stipulated by the state order. Purchases of rye, millet, buckwheat, and peas increased in comparison with 1988.

Some 223,000 tonnes of strong, durum, and valuable varieties of wheat—amounting to 0.9 percent of the total volume of purchases of these wheat varieties—were purchased on farms in freely convertible currency. Grain imports increased. In all some 36 million tonnes of grain were imported, which is 1 million tonnes more than in 1988.

Many union republics last year saw a decline in the production of vegetables, fruit, and grapes; the plan for the delivery of these crops to all-union stocks was not fulfilled. Vegetable production fell 27 percent in the Georgian SSR, 16 percent in the Armenian SSR, 12 percent in the Lithuanian SSR, and 9 percent in the Moldavian SSR; grape production fell 18 percent in the Azerbaijan SSR.

The decline in the gross vegetable harvest meant that the purchase volume fell by 0.8 million tonnes in comparison with the preceding year—a drop of 4 percent. The 1989 target for the delivery of vegetables to all-union stocks was 94 percent fulfilled.

Some 14.6 million tonnes of potatoes were purchased in 1989, 1.4 million tonnes (10 percent) more than in 1988.

A good sugar beet harvest was grown in the country's main beet-sowing regions in 1989, which permitted an increase in the delivery of root crops to sugar refineries. A total of 91.9 million tonnes of sugar beets (standard weight), or 13.9 million tonnes more than in 1988, was purchased. In comparison with the previous year sugar beet purchases increased by 60 percent in the Moldavian SSR, by 23 percent in the Ukrainian SSR, by 13 percent in the Belorussian SSR, and by 11 percent in the RSFSR.

Purchases of cotton fiber totaled 2.66 million tonnes—4 percent less than the corresponding 1988 figure. A decline was recorded in all cotton-sowing regions. As a whole the state order for cotton fiber purchases was 98 percent fulfilled. Here the state order was fulfilled only by Turkmenian SSR farms (102 percent) and Kirghiz SSR farms (104 percent).

Production of the main stockraising products on all categories of farms changed as follows:

	Annual Average			
	1981-85	1986-89	1988	1989
Meat (dressed weight)—million tonnes	16.2	19.2	19.7	20.0
Milk—million tonnes	94.6	105.2	106.8	108.1
Eggs—billions	74.4	83.3	85.2	84.6
Wool (physical weight)—thousand tonnes	457	471	478	474

In 1989 meat production fell at agricultural enterprises in the Latvian, Tajik, Lithuanian, and Armenian SSR's; milk production fell at agricultural enterprises in the Georgian, Azerbaijan, Armenian, and Estonian SSR's. The average milk yield per cow was 2,854 kg or 74 kg more than in 1988.

Per capita meat consumption was 67 kilograms (61 kilograms discounting lard and second-category byproducts; milk consumption was 359 kilograms and egg consumption was 270.

Purchases of livestock products on all categories of farms are described in the following data:

	Annual Average		
	1986-89	1988	1989
Livestock and poultry, million tonnes:			
liveweight	22.0	22.8	23.3
carcass weight	14.1	14.7	15.0
Milk, million tonnes	75.3	77.0	78.1
Eggs, billions	55.6	57.4	55.8
Wool (calculated in clean fiber equivalent), thousand tonnes	248.7	254.3	257.5

The plan for meat and meat product deliveries to all-union stocks was fulfilled 95 percent in 1989, while the figure for milk and dairy products was 99 percent. The Latvian, Estonian, Moldavian, Lithuanian, Kazakh, Belorussian, and Ukrainian SSR's failed to fulfill the plan for deliveries of meat and meat products to all-union stocks, and the Latvian and Estonian SSR's failed to fulfill the milk and dairy products plan.

Significant losses of livestock products are occurring in agricultural enterprises as a result of the high level of murrain in livestock and high infertility in the breeding herds.

Livestock numbers altered in the following manner (as of 1 January, million head):

	On all categories of farms		Including stock owned by the population	
	1989	1990	1989	1990
Cattle	119.6	118.3	23.8	24.1
including cows	41.8	41.7	13.0	13.2
Hogs	78.1	78.9	14.5	15.2
Sheep and Goats	147.5	144.5	34.7	35.9

A significant reduction in the numbers of cattle, hogs, and sheep was permitted to occur on kolkhozes and sovkhozes in the Georgian, Azerbaijan, and Armenian SSR's and in Volgograd, Kuybyshev, Chelyabinsk, and a number of other oblasts. At the same time an increase was noted in the numbers of livestock of all types on individual plots.

In many union republics agricultural enterprises failed to provide the full amount of fodder for their livestock to over winter. As a result of drought and management omissions, significantly smaller amounts of coarse and succulent fodders were procured in the Armenian, Azerbaijan, and Georgian SSR's than in 1988.

Last year agriculture received 40,000 fewer tractors, 34,000 fewer tractor cultivators, 19,000 fewer machines for applying mineral and hard organic fertilizers to the soil, 6,000 fewer silage- and fodder-harvesting combines, 4,000 fewer milking installations, and more than 2,000 fewer grain-harvesting combines than in 1988.

In 1989 supplies of mineral fertilizers to agriculture fell by 3.1 million tonnes compared to the previous year, and supplies of liming materials fell by 6.7 million tonnes.

Approximately R67 billion in capital investments from all finance sources, or 31 percent of the total for the national economy, was utilized for the development of the agroindustrial complex, including the sectors supplying agriculture with means of production.

Out of the total volume of assets invested in the agro-industrial complex, 80 percent was channeled into the construction of agricultural production facilities and the social infrastructure of agriculture. Sovkhozes and kolkhozes built dwellings with a total area of 16.4 million square meters, or 94 percent of the plan; compared to the previous year, the commissioning of dwellings declined 9 percent. Some 33 percent of preschool institutions, 38 percent of polyclinics, and 37 percent of clubs and houses of culture were not commissioned. At the same time the plan for the commissioning of general educational schools and hospitals was fulfilled. compared to the previous year, the scale of construction of paved motor roads within the territory of farms increased and 35,000 km of such roads were commissioned, of which 10,300 kms were in the RSFSR Non-Chernozem Zone. There was a failure to commission the following installations: poultry meat factories for 14 million head, or 54 percent; poultry factories for egg production for 0.9 million laying birds (31 percent); mechanized dumps for the storage of mineral fertilizers, toxic chemicals, and liming materials to handle 0.1 million tonnes at any one time (7 percent); and storage facilities for potatoes, vegetables, and fruit sufficient for 0.1 million tonnes at any one time (6 percent).

The targets for the commissioning of many agricultural installations were not fulfilled in the Georgian, Azerbaijan, Moldavian, Tajik, Turkmen, and Estonian SSR's.

For the development of the processing sectors of the agro-industrial complex some R5.5 billion of capital investment was used, or 92 percent of the annual quota. This money amounted to only 8 percent of the entire capital investment in the complex. Out of 236 installations under the state order which were earmarked for commissioning in 1989, only 108 were actually commissioned. The building of elevators, milling and maize-feed enterprises, and also facilities for the production of meat, cheese, and whole-milk products was carried out unsatisfactorily. The commissioning of a number of such installations was not ensured in the RSFSR, and the Ukrainian, Uzbek, and Kazakh SSR's.

Expenditure on land-reclamation construction declined in accordance with the plan by R1.5 billion, and the proportion of such expenditure in the total capital investment in agriculture amounted to 15 percent compared to 17 percent in 1988. The plan for the performance of work on the comprehensive reconstruction of land under irrigation was fulfilled.

Capital Construction

In 1989 R219.4 billions in capital investments were assimilated and fixed capital worth R189.1 billion was commissioned, using all sources of financing, in the economy as a whole.

The process of involving enterprise and organization funds to finance capital construction continued. These funds totaled 49 percent, in comparison with 40 percent in 1988, of all state capital investments.

The retooling and reconstruction of existing production apparatus increased in scale. Some R50.8 billion of state capital investments were utilized for these purposes (almost half of all production development expenditure), which represents an increase of 3 percent on the previous year.

However, in 1989 capital construction's chronic lag behind envisaged plan targets intensified still further. The annual target for the commissioning of fixed capital using state capital investments (from enterprise and organization plans) was fulfilled by 92 percent. Notwithstanding the planned increase of R13.1 billion, commissioning of fixed capital fell by R0.6 billion.

The program for commissioning production capacities of major importance was not met, and this was one of the reasons for the material imbalance in the economy. Half of the projects ordered by the state were not commissioned (counting those carried over from 1988). Only 145 of the 359 state-ordered projects which were scheduled for completion were commissioned, or 40 percent (it was 59 percent in 1988); in addition, 133 of the 193 projects carried over from the previous year, or 69 percent, were commissioned.

In the fuel and energy complex 37 of 61 state-ordered projects were not commissioned. The complex as a whole failed to meet the annual target for commissioning turbine-driven electric power stations (a shortfall of 6.7 million kilowatts, or almost two-thirds), coal extraction capacities (a shortfall of 13 million tonnes, or 42 percent), and coal processing capacities at coal enrichment factories (a shortfall of 18.7 million tonnes, or almost 100 percent).

In the machine-building complex the annual target for most types of capacities included in the state order was not fulfilled. Of 65 projects scheduled for completion 25 were not commissioned.

The general state program for machine-building development is not being fulfilled. Capacities for producing inter alia digital program-controlled metal-cutting machine tools, forging and pressing equipment, automatic lines, electrothermal equipment, and instruments to control and regulate technological processes were not handed over..

In the chemical and timber complex capacities for producing 740,000 tonnes of sulfuric acid, 200,000 tonnes of synthetic detergents, and 68,000 tonnes of paper were commissioned. The annual target for a number of types of facility was substantially underfulfilled. The commissioning of 24 state-ordered projects (44 percent) was not achieved.

In the metallurgical complex half of the 24 state-ordered projects were not commissioned. As a result the target for commissioning steel-casting facilities fed by continuous casting machines was fulfilled by less than one-third, while capacities smelting oxygen-converter and electric-furnace steel and producing large-diameter, cold-resistant, anticorrosive welded pipes and rolled ferrous metal products were not commissioned.

In light industry capacities for producing 20 million articles of knitwear, R10 million items of sewn goods, 11 million articles of footwear, 195 million square meters of finished fabric, 8 million square meters of nonfabric materials, 2,000 tonnes of knitted cloth, and 66 million items of hosiery were commissioned. The annual target was fulfilled only for the commissioning of capacities producing hosiery; the target for the production of finished fabrics was 82-percent fulfilled, while those for other types were fulfilled at a level of 40-65 percent. The commissioning of more than one-third of the state-ordered projects scheduled for completion was not ensured. Overall in the period 1986-1989, in comparison with the 5-year plan targets for this period, one-third and 58 percent respectively of capacities for producing footwear and knitted articles were not commissioned, which made it impossible, given the population's increased income, to reduce the strain on the consumer market.

The program for production construction and the restoration of enterprises in the Armenian SSR earthquake zones was effectively wrecked. Industrial projects were not commissioned. Work was not begun on a whole series of construction industry and construction materials industry projects. The construction program was also disrupted at enterprises in agro-industrial complex processing sectors. Of 49 projects scheduled for completion one alone was commissioned, and work was not even begun on 42 projects in this category.

The volume of **contract** work carried out by construction and installation organizations totaled R108.7 billion, or 99.2 percent of the plan, and R46.9 billion, or 98 percent, at projects scheduled for completion. Virtually all construction ministries and departments (apart from the USSR Ministry of Transport Construction, the RSFSR Ministry of Construction in the Northern and Western Regions, the RSFSR Ministry of Construction in the Urals and West Siberia Regions, and the Kazakh SSR Gosstroy failed to fulfill the annual plan at projects scheduled for completion). Planned contract work to the value of R478 million, or 4 percent of the plan, was not carried out at state-ordered production projects.

The worsening supply of material resources to construction contributed substantially to the breakdown of the construction program; production of many types of material resources fell in 1989 in comparison with 1988.

Capacities for producing progressive construction materials were not set up. Capacities for producing only 4 out of 21 types of materials were fully commissioned.

It did not prove possible to implement measures to restrict the construction front, mainly owing to the dissipation of capital investments financed by enterprises' own funds. The R3.5-billion reduction in the quota of construction and installation work financed by centralized funds in comparison with the original specification was substantially covered—to the tune of R5.5 billion—by an increase in the volumes of construction and installation work carried out using resources from enterprise and organization funds. Instead of falling, the total volume of construction and installation work using state funds rose by more than R2 billion.

Construction schedules are still more than twice the normative schedules. As a result, project technological and design ideas are becoming outmoded before the projects are commissioned. At the same time the standard of the projects being developed remains low. Even on random inspection of projects that have undergone departmental examination, one in three is rejected as defective. The shortage of new high-performance equipment also has an adverse effect on the quality of designs.

State enterprises and organizations assimilated R191.6 billion in capital investments, or 99.1 percent of the quota, including R96.9 billion (95 percent) financed by the budget and R94.7 billion (104 percent) from enterprise funds (104 percent). In comparison with the previous year the volume of state capital investments increased by 1.6 percent, including a 27-percent increase in enterprise's own resources.

The machine-building and the chemicals and timber complexes, which determine technical progress to a considerable extent, respectively failed to assimilate

R0.5 billion (12 percent) and R0.7 billion (23 percent) of state centralized capital investments.

For the economy as a whole the volume of utilized state capital investments substantially exceeded—by R27.6 billion—the commissioning of fixed capital, which resulted in an increase in unfinished construction. At the end of 1989 the volume of unfinished construction totaled R180.9 billion, including R39 billions' worth of above-normative unfinished construction—which intensified the shortage of material and financial resources. Unfinished construction totaled 94 percent—against a 74-percent normative—of the annual volume of capital investments.

Transport and Communications

Freight shipmentsby transport in general use are characterized by the following figures:

	1989 million tons	1989 as percentage of 1988
Transport—total	12944.3	98.0
of which:		
railroad transport	4000.0	98.0
pipeline transport	1249.2	100.7
maritime transport	245.4	96.0
river transport	692.7	100.3
motor transport	6753.7	98.0
air transport	3.3	99.0

Railroad transport failed to fulfill the state order for freight shipments by 16.8 million tonnes (0.7 percent).

The freight shipment plans were not met by 15 of the 32 railroads, including the Azerbaijan Railroad (by 10.5 percent), the Volga Railroad (5.9 percent), the Far Eastern Railroad (4.6 percent), and the Transcaucasian Railroad (3.1 percent). Georgian SSR and Latvian SSR motor transport enterprises failed to meet the freight shipment targets (each achieving 97 percent), along with Azerbaijan SSR motor transport enterprises (99 percent), and RSFSR and Moldavian SSR Ministry of Motor Transport enterprises (both 99.4 percent). Lithuanian SSR, Latvian SSR, Moldavian SSR, and USSR Ministry of the Maritime Fleet Central Asian Steamship Company inland water transport enterprises failed to fulfill the freight shipments plans, achieving 84, 89, 90, and 91 percent respectively.

The quantity of imported freight not transported from the seaports by railroad transport in general use increased. As of 1 January 1990 there were 3.8 million tonnes of imported freight in USSR Ministry of the Maritime Fleet ports in stores and aboard vessels in comparison with 3.3 million tonnes on 1 January 1989.

The average distance covered by each tonne of freight on transport in general use rose by 0.9 percent in comparison with 1988 to total 631 km.

Transport passenger turnover increased in comparison with the previous year by 1 percent and totaled 1.128 billion passenger-kilometers: The figures for road transport were respectively 0.1 percent and 480.5 passenger-kilometers and for air transport 6.6. percent and 228.9 billion passenger-kilometers; while railroad passenger turnover dropped by 0.6 percent to total 411.2 billion passenger-kilometers. Railroad transport and air transport fulfilled the plan by 98.6 percent and 104.5 percent respectively. In 1988 transport in general use accounted for 55.2 billion passenger journeys, or 99.6 percent of the previous year's figure.

The quality of passenger transport did not improve. In January-November 1989 15 percent of trains (excluding suburban services), 14 percent of aircraft, 7 percent of buses, and 1.3 percent of river and lake vessels failed to arrive owing to cancellations or arrived late.

There are still massive delays in the arrival of suburban trains at their final destination in the mornings.

Railroad blockades and strikes, along with a reduction in operating standards, had an adverse effect on the results of railroad transport activity.

To a certain extent transport difficulties were brought about by a shortage of rolling stock. The shortage of freightcars also increased in connection with delays in turnaround on USSR Ministry of Railways tracks. In 1989 freightcar turnaround was 6.2 hours, or 4 percent, slower than in 1988 owing to holdups on USSR Ministry of Railways track stages and stations.

Certain ministries' enterprises increased the average freightcar idle time—namely the RSFSR Ministry of Motor Transport (by 10.8 percent), the "Gazprom" State Gas Concern (9.2 percent), the USSR Ministry of Water Resources Construction (9.9 percent), the USSR Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry and Instrument Making (8.5 percent), and the USSR Ministry of Nuclear Power Generation and the Nuclear Industry (6.6. percent). Some of the time freightcars spend standing idle on spur tracks is due to delayed unloading of freightcars.

The number of accidents on highways and streets involving casualties increased in comparison with the previous year by 16.9 percent and totaled 320,000. The number of fatalities rose by 24.3 percent and totaled 59,000, and the number of injuries increased by 16.7 percent to a total of 347,000. The number of accidents caused by drunk drivers increased by 21.4 percent to 55,000.

A total of 107 accidents occurred on railroad transport in general use, 74 in maritime transport, 169 in air transport, and 131 in inland water transport (in the period January-November).

In 1989 690.6 km of new railroads (91 percent of the annual target), 6,500 km of main gas pipelines (89 percent), and 284 km of main oil pipelines (19 percent) were commissioned.

Communications enterprises provided the population with services totaling R4 billion, or an increase of 8.9 percent on 1988. The plan was fulfilled by 104 percent.

The number of basic telephones in the public network as of 1 January 1990 had increased by 2.3 million units (7.5 percent) in comparison with 1 January 1989 to total 32.5 million; the plan was 92.6-percent fulfilled. However the number of outstanding applications for domestic telephone installation has not fallen and exceeds 15 million.

Foreign Economic Activity

In the last year foreign trade turnover increased by 4.7 percent. The country's exports totaled R68.2 billion, which represents an increase of R1.1 billion, or 1.7 percent, in comparison with 1988. Goods to the value of R70.2 billion were imported, an increase of 7.9 percent on the 1988 level.

In 1989 volumes of deliveries within the framework of commodity exchange (barter) operations, including deliveries on the basis of direct contacts, rose to total R1.8 billion. In the course of trade exchange operations it is frequently goods of statewide importance (kerosene, ferrous metal ores, ferrous metals, pipes) that are exported, while imports comprise mainly consumer goods.

The volume of trade with socialist countries has decreased somewhat and is estimated at R85.6 billion, which breaks down into exports of R42.2 billion and imports of R43.4 billion.

Trading operations with capitalist countries were characterized by an increase in export and import deliveries. Exports to these countries totaled R26 billion (an increase of 7.6 percent), while imports totaled R26.8 billion (an increase of 23.6 percent).

A negative trade balance arose in 1989 to the tune of R2 billion.

The annual export plan was 98-percent fulfilled; it was 91-percent fulfilled in terms of exports for freely convertible currency. The USSR Ministry of Heavy Machine Building (67 percent), the USSR Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry and Instrument Making (71 percent), the USSR Ministry of Automotive and Agricultural Machine Building (50 percent), the USSR Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry (40 percent), and USSR Ministry of the Aviation Industry (49 percent) failed to fulfill the plan for exports for freely convertible currency. RSFSR associations, enterprises, and organizations account for two-thirds of all exports.

The annual imports plan was fulfilled by 99 percent. In 1989, in comparison with the previous year, there was virtually no increase in procurements of machinery and equipment from abroad, while imports of foodstuffs and raw materials for food production, including grain, coffee, cocoa beans, sugar, and vegetable oils, along with medicines, soap, detergents, perfumery products, and cosmetics increased.

Some 1,274 joint enterprises were registered on USSR territory. Firms and organizations from 60 countries were involved in setting them up.

Tasks arising from the State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR and the USSR State Budget for 1990 and the resolutions adopted by the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies demand improved results from the work of all labor collectives. Only conscientious, highly productive labor can guarantee the successful fulfillment of the strenuous 1990 targets and create the material preconditions for the country's effective development in the 13th 5-Year Plan.

Agricultural

Agricultural Production Short of 1989 Plan

LD2901100990 Moscow TASS in English 0956 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 29 TASS—Soviet agricultural production fell short of plan in 1989, the State Committee for Statistics revealed today.

Overall output of the agro-industrial complex was 475 billion rubles, only 1.9 per cent more than in 1988. However, about 67 billion rubles of capital investments were channelled last year into the agro-industrial complex and the industries supplying it with means of production, which amounts to 31 per cent of capital investments in the economy.

The growth of labour productivity in the agro-industrial complex was a little higher. In the public sector of agriculture it went up by 5 per cent in 1989, while the number of people employed in the sector was reduced by 0.7 million.

There were some positive changes in the economic situation of farms. State and collective farms received more than 45 billion rubles in profits in 1989. The profitability of agricultural production was 31 per cent. The number of loss-making farms was reduced. Now there are 1,400 of them, which makes three per cent of all collective and state farms.

The final gross grain output was 196.4 million tonnes (the initial registered weight was 211.1 million tonnes), raw cotton—8.6 million tonnes, sugar beet—97.5 million tonnes, potatoes—72 million tonnes and vegetables—33.5 million tonnes.

The average grain yield in the country was 18.8 metric centners in 1989—1.8 centners up against 1988. The state received 59 million tonnes of grain, which is 27.3 million tonnes less than was envisaged by the state order.

Grain imports were increased. A total of 36 million tonnes of grain were purchased, one million tonnes more than in 1988.

Farms produced 20 million tonnes of meat and 108.1 million tonnes of milk. According to Soviet statistics, which class fat and some of the so-called sub-products as meat, per capita meat consumption was 67 kilograms. If fat and sub-products are excluded from this figure, per capita meat consumption was 61 kilograms, milk consumption was 359 kilograms and eggs—270.

It looks strange that along with considerable capital investments in agriculture, this sector received less tractors, other farm machinery and mineral fertilisers than in previous years.

Peasants' Right to Land Ownership Supported

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[Article by Vladimir Tikhonov, USSR people's deputy and academician of All-Union V.I. Lenin Academy of Agricultural Sciences: "Farmers Ought To Own Land"]

[Text] The arguments and passions over the Draft Law on Land Relations are at a peak. Some politicians, leaders of very big collective farms and even some of my Academy colleagues, still regard the land reform as an impingement on the collective farms. But I haven't yet met a single professional economist who would propose they be liquidated. There aren't any such economists.

A collective farm is just one form of land tenure. As we know, only one-tenth of them are working successfully. And the rest? How many of them not only misuse land but also waste it? Only they, along with state farms, use the land as a monopoly, not allowing others to test other forms of land ownership. Had such a situation never taken shape, we wouldn't have such a venting of passions today. And, as I see it, the problem is not in collective farms, but in the right of the rural population, of the citizens of the country as a whole, to own land.

It is surprising, but even our major lawyers, to this day, cannot see the difference between land use and land ownership. However, the now existing everywhere system of combination of the land as property and land ownership started as far back as ancient Roman Law. Roman Law expresses two types of land ownership: the disposal of land "without any intention of getting use from it directly for oneself" and to own land "with the intention of getting use for oneself". The combination of the municipal ownership of land and ownership of it by a peasant or any other ownership is based on this. A municipal council is a holder of land, distributes it and regulates land relations. A farmer owns land as an economic object, for the sake of acquiring direct use for himself. Therefore, the use of land is a function, a direct economic content and subsequence of owning it. This means that the ownership rights to the products of crop farming and income from selling them automatically result in people's ownership on the land. And use without ownership is a different legal relation. It is regulated by a different law—the law of distribution of the products in conditions of serf or wage labour.

But we "circumvent" Roman Law. Some didn't know it, others forgot it, and still others consciously ignored it. But real social phenomena and processes don't cease to exist due to lack of knowledge of them. "Freeing" the peasant from owning land, the state, capitalizing on the right of ownership of land, fixed the right to manage affairs on the collective farm to itself and then also the right to appropriate its products. That was how the collective farm only became the land user and how peasants were turned into assigned workers administratively attached to the collective farm.

I'd like to stress once more—the experience of one-tenth of our collective farms shows that this form also has the right to exist. It can become productive when intracollective farm relations are democratized. But its monopoly domination inevitably dooms the country and the people to a prolonged crisis in terms of the food economy.

We are not the first to live through a period of problems and arguments about the optimum social conditions of land ownership. Postwar Germany and Japan were in nearly the same situation in the mid-40s. The big highly concentrated land ownership that took shape in prewar times in both countries did not promise any favourable changes in crop farming. A decision was taken to make a land reform. Its essence was to liquidate the big farming estates. A part of land thus confiscated was immediately given over to the peasants. Another part was left to the municipal councils. It was distributed among peasants who wanted to take up crop farming.

And what are we to do now? To disperse, destroying the unprofitable collective farms? To coerce the peasants again, imposing new forms of economic management on them. I'm sure this mustn't be done. Then what are we to do?

The best treatment for a disease is to do away with the things that cause it. I think as soon as possible we should return directly to the crop farmers the right to own the land which was taken away from them. At the first stage—to legislatively remove the monopoly of state ownership of land from the monopoly of owning land as an object of economic management. To each his/her own. The soviets get land for ownership and lease, as an economic form of its realization. And to the direct crop farmer—independence in how to farm the land, the right of ownership to the product raised and to the incomes, combined with property responsibility for the results.

Naturally, when this is done, the order of distribution of plots of land between land owners and conditions of land ownership must be determined by the Soviets of People's Deputies of Union and Autonomous Republics and other national-territorial formations.

Does such a system disrupt the collective farms' interests? It doesn't if the collective farms operate normally. Obviously, it was precisley because of this that everybody today agreed with such a system. Maybe, excluding some representatives from the state apparatus. But this system contains the danger of preserving all the absurdities of our land system, which are the basis of the deterioration of our crop farming.

What does a "direct crop farmer" mean? Speaking legally, who is a "direct crop farmer" - the one undertaking land ownership? Be it a collective farm, a state farm, an industrial enterprise, a Soviet of People's Deputies, or maybe, a Soviet citizen, who has the necessary knowledge, ability and crop farming know-how. Are we sure that our typical collective farm, on getting a monopoly on land, would be able to organize highly effective crop farming? The best collective farmers from the first one-tenth of the farms say assuredly - "yes"! They say the main thing is to get the freedom of management and the collective farm will show its ability. I have no doubts when I hear these words from Motorny, Starodubtsev, Veprev and Aidak, or from hundreds of other chairmen. But, of course, they are talented people. And an economic system should be able to function with just average organizers. What will freedom give and will it give anything to thousands of collective farms which live for years and years on subsidies from the budget? Because we cannot exclude the fact that, upon getting independence, a collective farm's financial situation might become worse. A "poorly-managed" collective farm now has less concerns than a successful farm - its losses will be covered up, the debts will be written off and its prices will rise to resolve its poverty. Independence means inevitable responsibility - what did you raise, how did you sell it, at what prices, what have you bought, what have you built and at what price? And another question - does the average chairman today need freedom and independence, combined with property responsibility? It cannot be at all excluded that he/she doesn't want it. Or maybe, he/she can't manage independently. In this case, they say, a collective farmer has a way out - intra-farm lease or contract. They exist even now, but we don't see any good from them and, it looks like it, we won't see it.

Therefore, as I see it, if the land reform provides the right of land ownership only to collective and state farms, then the effect will be only half as great. About a tenth of them will start working better. But things will be as before for a considerable number of state and collective farms. And the rest will begin go bankrupt. Quickly or slowly, they will. In that case even greater troubles may start for our land. They are being dangerously expressed even now. I'm speaking about how, in some places, an unbridled and senseless giving of land has started for all comers. The losses may be irreplaceable. There is nothing more harmful than 50 per cent reforms. As a rule, they produce a 50 per cent result. And the main thing is that they discredit the idea on which the reform is based.

Let's assume that a collective farm is really a cooperative - a collective of free people, who united voluntarily for joint farming. What, for today's collective farmer, is the main sign of voluntariness of this cooperative? Apparently, it is the right to leave, without any obstacles, the farm with the plot of land that is his rightfully, as well as a part of the accumulated property. Therefore, the collective farmer of today must have a right, guaranteed by law, to own land. That's why, without trying to disprove the collective farm's right to exist, I think that the owner of land shouldn't be a collective farm, but a Soviet citizen who has the right to voluntarily join, or not join, a collective farm. Only the right to have land, as an objective of management, makes a person a farmer. And only he/she can decide, without any administrative coercion, to join a collective farm, to remain in it, to leave with his/her own plot of land, to act independently, or to unite into a peasants' cooperative together with like-minded people. That's his/her right, choice, will.

There is now argument on this - is the reshaping of land thinkable? Even some serious economists think that all this is a utopia, a fantasy. But then law and the use of it are different phenomena. Legally giving land ownership to peasants, doesn't as yet mean an immediate reshaping of the land. Somewhere this will start. And it will fill the land reform with contents. But in other cases, when a collective farm is economically and socially beneficial for the peasant, there will be no need to reshape it at all. It all depends on the level of effective management at the farm, and on the living conditions of the collective farmer. The law gives the peasant a sure, therefore, a real opportunity to own land and, therefore, the right of a free choice of form of management. The recently published draft law, while establishing land as owned by collective and state farms, again disenfranchises the individual peasant. What will he be left with if he decides to leave the farm? At best he'll be given bad plots of land. That's why a peasant must know that the land of the collective farm has been formed by his will and it is his will, if he leaves the farm, to become the owner of a good plot of land.

The mighty collective farms, the leaders of the collective farm system, don't risk anything. Their faith in the fabulous possibilities of the collective farm system, is not faltering. And what odd fellow would like to get away from the merry and well-to-do collective farm life to individual work or work in a small group with its uncertainty and risks? But, of course, additional problems will appear. A free landowner is less suitable for the administrator, even in a collective farm, than an attached or wage worker without land of his own. There will be a need to be more concerned about developing attractive features of a collective farm and of collective work. But, here something should be done. Our entire perestroika is directed precisely at the expansion of freedom and democracy.

Therefore, as I see it, this is not just a question of preserving collective and state farms. It's a matter that ought to be solved by independent farmers, landowners.

They choose whether to own it collectively, or individually, or in some other form. The right to land means a right to a good future. If farmers have a good future, then our society will breathe more easily.